A SHORT HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE COMING OF THE ROMANS
TO THE PRESENT TIME

By JAMES MUNRO, M.A.

Formerly Lecturer on Colonial and Indian History, Edinburgh University and Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford

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PREFACE

THIS Short History attempts to deal with the historical development of England and Scotland within the limits of one volume.

It tries to explain lucidly how people lived and were governed in past centuries, showing both the value of the old ways in their own time, and the causes of their gradual disappearance.

At the same time, while it pays less attention to foreign than to domestic policy, it seeks to keep the reader in touch with the leading movements in the great world beyond Britain.

In the latter part of the book—the last three centuries—the story becomes more complex. The extension of the geographical area with which the people of Great Britain are concerned, the widening of the field of political regulation, and the increasing importance of industrial questions, add greatly to the difficulties of the historian's task. It is hoped, however, that our effort to adhere strictly to the chronological method of treatment and to omit nothing of first-rate importance has resulted in a narrative both clear and interesting.

The Table of Concurrent Events will assist the Reader in reviewing rapidly the great developments taking place in the lands outside the limits of his own country, and studying the intimate relationship which frequently exists between these and similar events in Great Britain.

JAMES MUNRO.

CONTENTS

I. The Dark Age

Settlements of English and Scots in Britain

		PAGE
1.	Britons and Romans	1
2.	Coming of the English and Scots	5
3.	England and Scotland become United Kingdoms	7
4.	Great West Saxon Kings	11
5.	Decay of the West Saxon Kingdom	14

II. Rise of the Monarchy in England and Scotland

6.	The Normans obtain a hold on England	20
7.	England and Scotland before the Norman Conquest	24
8.	William the Conqueror and Malcolm Canmore	30
9.	Norman Kings in England	36
10.	Scotland under the Sons of Malcolm Canmore	42
11.	The Strong Rule of Henry II	47
12.	Richard and John oppress their Subjects	52
13.	Troubles in England: Peaceful Progress in Scotland	57
14.	Great Reforms of Edward I	61

III. Period of Hostility between England and Scotland

15.	Scots War of Independence	65
16.	Edward III: Rise of the Commons	70
17.	Revolution in England: Captivity of the Scots King	75

PAGE

18. Fall of the House of Lancaster 81
19. Crown and Barons in Scotland 86
20. Overthrow of Richard III and James III . . . 88
21. The Work of the Middle Age 93

IV. Uniting of the Nations

22. Time and Work of Henry VII 95
23. Foreign Trade : Scotland : Ireland 100
24. Henry VIII and Wolsey 105
25. Tyranny of Henry VIII 108
26. Protestant Factions : Catholic Persecution . . . 113
27. The End of " The Auld Alliance " 117
28. Dangers from Europe : Adventures beyond Europe . . 121
29. Triumphs and New Troubles 127
30. James VI and the Scots Presbyterians 130
31. England and Scotland in 1603 133

V. Settlement of Church and State

32. James I : Puritans and Parliament 139
33. James I : Foreign Policy and Scots Affairs . . . 143
34. Charles I : Buckingham's Wars : Suspension of Parliament 147
35. Charles I : Scots Wars lead to Meeting of English Parliament again 151
36. Long Parliament and the Civil War (to the Creation of the New Model Army) 155
37. King, Parliament, and Army 160
38. Difficulties of the Puritan Commonwealth . . . 164

PAGE

39. The Protectorate 168
40. Clarendon the Churchman : Cabal and Toleration . . 171
41. Rise of Parties in Parliament : The Exclusion Bill . . 177
42. The Revolution 181
43. William of Orange 188
44. Whig War against Louis XIV 194
45. Establishment of Whig Ascendancy 199

VI. Colony Wars with France

46. Peace Policy of Robert Walpole 207
47. Rivalry with France renewed 214
48. Pitt's War for Colonies and Empire, and George III's Peace 221
49. Discontents at Home and in America 228
50. The Imperial Civil War 237
51. Pitt the Younger and the Revolution in France . . 243
52. The Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte 250
53. The Fall of Napoleon 258

VII. The Growth of Material Prosperity

54. Reforms Overdue 266
55. The Whig Reforms 274
56. Rebuilding of the Empire 282
57. Era of Free Trade and Railways 290
58. Distant Wars : Domestic Tranquillity 297
59. Rise of the Irish Nationalists 305
60. Colonial Development 317

VIII. Modern Problems and Ideals

PAGE

61. Ireland and Imperialism 330
62. Democracy and the Power of Organised Labour . . 337
63. British Nations Overseas and the Work of the Empire . 346
64. The Causes of the Great War 355
65. The World War 362
66. Britain during and since the War 368
67. Retrospect and Prospect 377

Table showing Concurrent Events in British and European History 384

Short List of Historical Novels and Tales . 414

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

I. THE DARK AGE

Settlements of English and Scots in Britain

1. BRITONS AND ROMANS, TO A.D. 410

GAELS AND BRITONS.—Two thousand years ago, the greatest people in the world were the Romans. The people who were then living in Britain were the Celts, who had come over from the Continent some centuries before in two successive streams. The first were the Gaels; the Britons who came later made room for themselves by driving the Gaels to the north and west. Other Celts who did not cross the Channel settled in France, or, as it was then called, Gaul; and when the Romans were conquering Gaul, they heard that the Celts of Britain had been helping their kinsfolk.

CÆSAR'S VISITS.—It was to stop this that the Roman general, Julius Cæsar, crossed with his army from Gaul into Britain in 55 and 54 B.C. He found the country divided amongst a large number of small tribes. Cæsar defeated several of these, but he made no attempt to hold Britain as a part of the Empire. For another century we hear no more of Britain's relations with Rome. Then, in A.D. 43, the Romans returned to our island with a strong army, for the purpose of adding it to their Empire.

ROMAN CONQUEST.—The conquest, however, was not an easy matter, for the Britons did not tamely submit. One of their chiefs, Caractacus, won many victories over the legions in South Wales, but at last he was completely defeated, and taken as a prisoner to Rome.

A few years later Boadicea, the widow of one of the

British kings, led a strong force to attack the Romans. The Ninth Legion was destroyed, and the towns of Colchester, St Albans, and London were burned to the ground. In the end, however, the Romans were strong enough to defeat the savage Britons, and Boadicea poisoned herself.

AGRICOLA.—Several of the Roman emperors themselves visited Britain later, but the greatest of the Roman generals who came to this country was Agricola.

Agricola ruled Britain for six years (A.D. 78-84), and extended the Roman province as far as it ever reached. He won a great battle in Scotland, perhaps in the Grampian Hills, and he even thought of crossing to Ireland. He fortified the line between the Forth and the Clyde; and in later years the Roman province was sometimes bounded by this wall, and sometimes by another which was built about A.D. 120 by the Emperor Hadrian, from the Solway to the Tyne.

Agricola ruled wisely and less harshly than the generals who had governed before him. He reduced the amount of tribute which had to be paid, and tried to win the goodwill of the Britons by teaching them to share in Roman pleasures and comforts. He did much to improve the ways of life of the rude inhabitants, but he was recalled to Rome before he could complete his work.

RESULTS OF ROMAN CONQUEST.—We know little of what happened in Britain during the 360 years of Roman rule, but we can, in a general way, say what were the results for this country.

(1) The Romans never succeeded in overcoming the whole of Britain. The wall from the Solway to the Tyne became the usual boundary between the Roman province and the savages of the North. These people the Romans called Picts, a name which perhaps means the painted people, because they painted their bodies with bright

colours. The result of the conquest of part of the island was to make a lasting contrast between the people who had looked to the Romans for protection, and those who remained free in their native wilds. It was, in fact, the beginning of the division of Great Britain into the two parts which afterwards became England and Scotland.

(2) Within their province the Romans made great roads, chiefly in order that their troops might march easily to any place where they might be wanted. When the British nowadays go to any savage country, one of the first things they have to do is to make roads for our soldiers and traders and officials. In the same way the Romans made great roads across the country—one from Dover to Chester (which was afterwards called Watling Street); one from Exeter to Lincoln (the Fosse Way); and one from London to Hadrian's Wall, by way of York (Ermine Street).

Last century, nearly fifteen hundred years after the Romans had left Britain, when our people wished to find the easiest and most level parts of the land for laying down railways from London to the North, they chose very much the same lines as the Romans had done. The London and North-Western Railway is our modern Watling Street; the Great Northern Railway and North-Eastern Railway follow much the same line as Ermine Street did. This shows us how well the Romans knew the country, in spite of the forests and marshes which made it no easy matter to cross from one side of the island to the other. These Roman roads would help greatly to bring the British tribes into touch with each other, and trading would be made easier.

(3) But the Romans did not leave their own land of Italy or their other dominions in the sunny South to come and settle for life in the chilly climate of Britain. They came out, as our officials go to India, to work for a time, but not to settle. Except near the towns where

the soldiers lived, the forests remained uncleared, the marshes were still undrained, even the bulk of the people did not improve greatly in their ways and manners, as the people of Spain had done when they were conquered. The better classes of the Britons did, however, wear the Roman dress, live in better houses, and in several other ways copy Roman habits; but they did not thus gain any of the qualities which made the Romans a great people. They lived in peace for many years, and forgot their old habit of fighting, and lost much of their strength of character and love of freedom.

A few of the towns occupied by the Romans have kept their old names, and are still towns to-day; in most of these the ending -cester or -chester will be found, which stands for the Latin *castra*, a camp. These names show that a large part of the Romans who lived in Britain were soldiers.

(4) Christianity had spread all through the Roman Empire. The Emperor Constantine himself became a Christian about A.D. 312. The new faith was brought into Britain by Roman soldiers and officers, and thence it was carried to Ireland. We shall see that this had more lasting results in Ireland than in Britain.

ROMANS LEAVE BRITAIN.—By the beginning of the fifth century Rome was in terrible danger. The wild peoples of Eastern and Northern Europe were moving towards the West and South in large, fierce armies. They swept over the Roman provinces in what we now call Austria, France, Spain, and Italy, and even in North Africa. In 410 the legions in the outlying province of Britain were recalled to defend Rome itself. Thus, after living in our island for nearly 400 years, the Romans left our country, and never again returned.

2. THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH AND THE SCOTS, A.D. 450-613

SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH.—It was the custom of the Romans, when they overcame any nation, to draft as many of the young men as they could into their army. Under Agricola and later rulers many of the warlike youths of the Britons were enrolled in the Roman legions and sent to fight Rome's battles in other provinces. And we have seen that the others who remained lost much of their old sturdy spirit and love of freedom. Hence, when Britain was abandoned by the legions, the people found themselves unable to resist the attacks of the fierce Picts from the north, and of the Saxon pirates who raided the east coast from their homes in Denmark and North Germany. Forty years after the Romans left, a body of these pirates, instead of merely plundering the country, began to settle in it; and gradually, because of the pressure of other tribes from the east of Europe and because the first settlers were pleased with the land, other bands came over and made their home in Britain.

Those who had come first (to Thanet in Kent), were called Jutes; but the other tribes, the Angles and the Saxons, were much more numerous. They all spoke the same language, which is sometimes called Anglo-Saxon and sometimes Old English. It is the origin of most of the words we use in everyday life.

The uncleared forests kept the Britons from coming together to make a united effort against the invaders. Thus bit by bit the Anglo-Saxons pushed on farther and farther west, till the Britons were driven into Cornwall and Wales and the country between the Clyde and the Mersey, which had its capital at Dumbarton and was known as "Strathclyde."

These Anglo-Saxon tribes fought for centuries not

only against the Britons, but against each other; and although the kingdom that proved itself strongest in the end was a Saxon kingdom, yet the speech or dialect of the Angles (who lived in the middle of the country) came to be most generally used, and the whole country took the name of England or Angleland.

THE SEVEN KINGDOMS.—It was not till 400 years after the first settlement that any one king could claim that all England accepted him as overlord. For a time there were seven important kingdoms of Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, besides the Gaels or Picts north of the Forth and Clyde, and the Britons who had been driven into Cornwall, Wales, and Strathclyde. In some places the Celts made a very good fight against the invaders, and their descendants proudly kept alive the memory of the great deeds of King Arthur, who won many victories over the Saxons. Many stories were invented about the high adventures of his followers, the Knights of the Round Table.[1]

In the great settlement, two Saxon victories may be noted. The victory of Deorham, in Gloucestershire, by which the Celts of West Wales or Cornwall were separated from those of North Wales, and the victory of Chester which divided the people of Wales from those of Strathclyde.

In the seventh century several of the Seven Kingdoms were overcome by their neighbours, and most of the Anglo-Saxons came to be subject to one or other of three great kingdoms—(1) *Northumbria*, between the Humber and the Firth of Forth; (2) *Mercia*, in the Midlands, in the valleys of the Trent and the Ouse; and (3) *Wessex*, in the South, expanding north, north-east, and north-

[1] These may be found in the collection made by Sir Thomas Malory in the fifteenth century—the *Morte D'Arthur*, and also in poetic form in Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

west from Southampton Water. Each of these English kingdoms had a Celtic neighbour on the west.

SETTLEMENT OF THE SCOTS.—Besides these kingdoms, there was a little settlement on the coast of Argyleshire, known as "Dalriada." Its people came over about A.D. 500 from Ireland, which was then known as "Scotia." This colony of "Scots" in the end gave its name to what is now Scotland; and it did so largely because the Picts as well as the settlers in Dalriada were converted to Christianity by missionaries from "Scotia."

COMING OF CHRISTIANITY.—The first Scots missionary, Columba, came to Iona, off the coast of Dalriada, in 563. Two years later Columba went to the Picts, and not only converted their king, but was able to make peace with the Picts and the Scots.

Before 600, the Jutes of Kent had also been converted to Christianity—not by the Scots, but by Augustine, a missionary sent from Rome by Pope Gregory. As the Empire lost its hold in Rome, the power of the Bishop of Rome grew greater; and, since the time when the Roman legions had left Britain, the Bishop had taken the title of Pope and had been accepted as the head of the Christian Church. But the Church in Scotia had been cut off from the knowledge of this and of other changes. In some details the usages of the Scots Church were now different from those of Rome; and the Scots, of course, did not own the Pope as the head of the Church.

3. ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND BECOME UNITED KINGDOMS, A.D. 613-850

GREATNESS OF NORTHUMBRIA.—The Northumbrians, early in the seventh century, became the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain. The stronghold of their kings was at Bamburgh, on the coast, a few miles south of Berwick-on-Tweed.

But the Northumbrians were really a union of two groups of invaders—the Firth of Forth group, or Bernicians; and the Humber group, or Deirans. The kings were sometimes chosen from "Bernicia" and sometimes from "Deira."

One of these, Edwin of Deira, may be remembered for two things—(1) he founded a town called Edwin's-burgh, or Edinburgh; (2) he married a daughter of the Christian king of Kent, allowed her to bring missionaries north to Northumbria, and became himself a Christian. A few years later, Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, joined with the Britons of Strathclyde, and defeated and killed Edwin.

On Edwin's death, Oswald, the son of a former King of Northumbria, returned from Iona, where he had lived for some years with the Scots monks, defeated the Britons of Strathclyde, and made himself king of Northumbria (634). He brought Scots missionaries south to convert his people; and, just as they had made their headquarters in Iona, a little island off the coast of Dalriada, so their Northumbrian centre was the little island of Lindisfarne (or Holy Island), not far from Bamburgh. The ruins of their monastery may still be visited by anyone who will walk across the sands to the island when the tide is out.

The Christianity of the Romans in Northumbria in Edwin's time had scarcely reached beyond the king and his court, and it had all been swept away by Penda. But from Lindisfarne, Scots missionaries—St Aidan, St Cuthbert, and others—now went diligently among the people, and the English from Edwin's-burgh to the Humber gradually became Christians.

Now that the Northumbrians were becoming Christians, the Roman missionaries returned from the South, and in 664 King Oswy, Oswald's brother and successor, called together a great meeting of Scots and

Roman missionaries at Whitby, on the Yorkshire coast (where the first English poet, Cædmon, was then living). He wished to decide once for all whether Northumbria should continue to adopt the ways of the Scots Church, or should, like the South of Britain and Western Europe generally, follow the usages of Rome. He decided in favour of Rome, perhaps because he thought that it would be more useful to him to be on good terms with the Continent than with the outlying island of Scotia or Ireland. About half a century later the Picts, and even the Scots themselves, accepted the ways of the Roman Church.

Oswy's son, Egfrith, invaded Pictland in 685, but was severely defeated at Nectansmere, in Forfarshire, and slain. This defeat marks the end of Northumbria's greatness.

We know a good deal about Northumbria and something about Wessex and Mercia and the Britons and Picts and Scots in the seventh century, from the writings of a monk and scholar of Jarrow-on-Tyne, named Bede, who was the most learned man of the early Middle Age. He wrote in Latin about A.D. 731 a book called *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

In 735, the year in which Bede died, there was born at York, Alcuin, who became the foremost scholar of his generation in Europe.

MERCIA.—It was the people of Mercia who had the greatest rulers in the eighth century, but they had no learned men who wrote for us the history of their time. Their greatest king, Offa, won much fame abroad and was on friendly terms with Charlemagne, the greatest ruler on the Continent.

At the end of the eighth century another wave of barbarian invasion swept down on Britain from the North of Europe—from Denmark and Norway. The Vikings, as they were called, first attacked Scotia, the

Hebrides, and Northumbria. Within a few years they destroyed the old Scots monasteries both at Iona and at Lindisfarne. The headquarters of the Roman Church in Northumbria had already been fixed at York; that of the Picts and Scots was now removed inland to Dunkeld, in Perthshire.

WESSEX AND THE DANES.—Egbert, who became king of Wessex in 802, was the most powerful ruler in England. After twenty-six years of hard fighting, he was accepted as overlord by Mercia and by Northumbria. Thus England for the first time may be said to be united under one ruler.

Before the death of this great king, in 839, the coast of Wessex itself had been raided by the terrible Northmen, or Danish pirates. In the reign of Egbert's son, Athelwulf, a still more serious thing happened: in 851 the Northmen stayed for the winter in Sheppey, just as the Jutes had stayed in Thanet 400 years before. After Athelwulf died, four of his sons in turn succeeded to the throne. The Danes were now coming in larger numbers and staying longer in the country; but at first they kept away from Wessex itself. One winter they stayed in Northumbria; the next two in Mercia; the next in Norfolk. In 871 a large body came to Wessex, and had the better of a series of battles in Berkshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire. In the same year Alfred, the youngest of Athelwulf's sons, succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-three—the noblest of the purely English kings of England.

UNION OF PICTS AND SCOTS.—In 844, Kenneth, king of the Scots, became king also of the Picts, and the two countries north of the Forth and Clyde became one kingdom, with its capital at Dunkeld. There were still several kings south of the Forth and Clyde, although all of them in 829 looked to King Egbert at Winchester as their over-lord. The kings of Wessex and the kings of

the Scots had both to fight very hard before they became really masters of a united England and a united Scotland.

It had still to be settled whether the Britons between the Clyde and the Mersey, and the Angles between the Forth and the Humber, should belong to the kingdom of the Scots or to that of the English. We know that a division was the result in each case, so that the Solway, the Cheviots, and the Tweed now mark the boundary, instead of the Forth and Clyde. How this partition was brought about we shall see later.

4. GREAT WEST SAXON KINGS, A.D. 871-940

ALFRED THE GREAT AND THE DANES.—Alfred found his kingdom of Wessex struggling against savage enemies who had already conquered the rest of Southern Britain.

In 877 he was driven west into Somerset and forced to take refuge in the marshes of Athelney. But, while he remained there in hiding, he prepared quietly for a great attack on the Danes next year. In the early summer he routed them at Edington in Wiltshire, and forced them to make peace at Wedmore in Somerset. Guthrum, their leader, became a Christian, and they retired to the north and east of England.

The other Northmen did not trouble Wessex for some time after this, but went to the country of the Franks. One band of these Danes, however, came over to Kent seven or eight years later, and Guthrum could not refrain from helping them. After a little fighting, in which Alfred was again successful, peace was made by a new treaty, which clearly stated what part of the country was to be Alfred's and what was to be left to the Danes. The district thus given up to the invaders was called the Danelaw, that is, the land ruled according to the law of the Danes.

The boundary, which followed the old Roman Watling

Street for a great part of the way, was so arranged that London (which stood on the north bank of the Thames) was to belong to Alfred. London had been destroyed by the Danes many years before and left waste; but Alfred saw how useful it would be to prevent the Danes from sailing up the Thames, and he had London and some other towns strongly fortified.

ALFRED'S REFORMS.—Alfred also built a navy, and even designed the ships himself. The king knew how needful it was to have a fleet at his disposal, because the Danes, when they found a Saxon army on their guard in one place, had often been able to sail away and attack another place which was not defended. Now the English ships could sail even better than those of the Danes, and could follow them anywhere. Alfred was thus the first king who saw how to make the most of the advantages which our country enjoys as an island.

Besides protecting his country against the barbarians, Alfred tried to bring peace and good order among the people of Wessex themselves. He made the laws less severe, and he helped religion and learning by founding abbeys.

King Alfred was not content that only those should be educated who could read Latin; and, as all the books he knew were in Latin, he translated some of them. One, Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, describes the life and work of a bishop or priest; another, the *Consolations of Philosophy*, was one of the most popular works all through the Middle Age, when people only too often felt in need of consolation and cheer. Then there were two histories, one, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; the other, a general *History of the World*, written in the fifth century by one Orosius.

More useful and interesting to us than these translations is the beginning of what is called the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Alfred arranged that the history of his own

and later times should be properly written down from year to year by the monks in various monasteries, and several of these records have been preserved. He also set up schools for the children of the nobles, and tried to gather round him the most learned men, not only in Britain but also from the Continent.

In his translation of the general *History*, Alfred inserted an account he had received of several voyages made by two Norwegians. One of these had sailed round the north of Europe as far as the White Sea ; the other had explored the shore of the Baltic to a point beyond the mouth of the Vistula. Alfred himself had visited Rome as a boy of five, and, after he became king, he sent messengers thither every year with an offering. In turn, he received ambassadors from the great rulers in Europe.

Alfred was not very strong bodily, and he suffered from a painful disease ; but, in spite of that and in spite of the Danes, he upheld and fostered all that was best in the England of his time.

BEATING BACK THE DANES.—During the forty years after the death of Alfred, his son Edward and his grandson Athelstan carried on the work of winning back the East of England from the Danes. Twenty years after Alfred's death, his son had reaped the fruit of his labours, and England south of the Humber had been brought under his rule.

And now, in 921, the *Chronicle* declares that the Scots, the Britons of Strathclyde, and the people of Northumbria, both English and Danes, chose Edward " as father and lord." This meant that they saw how powerful Edward had become, and how wise it would be to remain on good terms with so great an enemy of the Danish invaders.

Athelstan, Edward's son, who succeeded to the throne in 925, was an even more powerful ruler. The Danes made a very great effort to overthrow Athelstan, and they

induced the Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde to help them. Even then they were not a match for the strength built up by Alfred and his son and grandson. Athelstan won a great battle at Brunanburgh (in 937)—probably in Southern Strathclyde. In this reign Wessex reached the height of her greatness; but Athelstan's successors were not long able to maintain it against their enemies, the Danes, who never ceased to attack them.

Scots, Danes, and Angles.—King Kenneth, the Scot who became ruler over the Picts also in 844, had sought to add to his dominions all the country between the Forth and the Tweed; but his successors had to give up all idea of making conquests, and devote their strength to defending Scotland itself from the Northmen, who in the North and West of Scotland were generally not Danes but Norwegians.

Another band of Danes had settled in Ireland, and they were in the habit of landing in Southern Strathclyde (or "Cumbria") when they wanted to attack the English. So about 944 Athelstan's successor, Edmund, marched north, and harried the country; then he handed it over to his ally, the Scots king, on condition that he should be his "fellow-worker."

In the East, the Scots continued to harass the Angles, who occupied the country from the Forth south to the Tees, which had been the northern boundary of the Danelaw; as a result of their raids, Edinburgh was now abandoned by the English, and it became part of Scotland.

5. DECAY OF THE WEST SAXON KINGDOM, 940-1016

Edgar and Dunstan.—Within twenty years after Athelstan's death there were three short reigns. In the reign of Edgar, however, who ruled over the whole country from 959 to 975, England had peace from the

Danes and was well governed at home. The wide extent of Edgar's mastery was shown in a very striking way when eight kings—from Scotland, Strathclyde, and Wales—rowed him in a boat on the Dee at Chester. These rulers again promised to be the fellow-workers of the English king on sea and on land.

The greatest man in England at this time was not the king himself, but the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan. This is the first time we meet with a statesman, an adviser of the king, who gained as great renown as his master; and it is worth noting that the statesmen of these times were very often churchmen—bishops and archbishops. This is just what we should expect, for the clergy were the only people who had any learning at all. It was they and they alone who kept alive through all the wars and raids of the Dark Age, not only the spirit of religion, but also any desire for education, literature and art.

Unfortunately, when these monks took to writing history, they could only do so from their own point of view, putting first of all the Church and religion, as they understood it. Thus they tell us much more of the miracles which St Dunstan performed, and how he strove to make the life of the monks more strict, than they do about how he gave England peace and order for more than a quarter of a century.

THE ELDERMEN.—Edgar "the Peaceful" and Dunstan tried to provide good government all through the country by setting over each shire an officer called an "Alderman," who held a meeting of all the people of the shire twice a year to settle disputes, punish those who were guilty of crime, and collect fines. In those days of bad roads or of no roads, the officers in distant parts of the country had great power, and they very often wished to make themselves quite free from the control of the king. They desired also to leave their lands, offices and

authority at their death to their sons. The ambition of the Aldermen caused much of the trouble that came upon England after Edgar's death.

In order to preserve the peace, it was arranged that groups of men should become sureties for each other's good conduct. That is, if any one of their number committed a crime, they had to hand him over to justice or pay a fine themselves. Villages, too, were combined in groups smaller than the shire, called *hundreds* [1]; and "hundred"-courts were held every month so that justice might be done.

ATHELRED THE RASH AND THE DANES.—Edgar left two sons, (1) Edward, the son of his first wife, and (2) Athelred, the son of Queen Alfrida, who survived Edgar. Alfrida wished her own son to be king, and, in order to gain her end, she had Edward murdered. This Edward is therefore known as Edward the Martyr, to distinguish him from Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, and from the last king of the West Saxon line, Edward the Confessor.

Athelred's reign had thus a bad beginning. It had a worse ending, for all England again became a prey to the Danes. Athelred could never beat the Danes; some traitor in his camp always helped the enemy to secure the victory. The king received a nickname from the English, which may be translated Athelred "the Rash." [2]

Besides trying to strengthen the power of the Crown, Athelred made an alliance with Normandy. The Normans were Northmen like the Danes; but they had been granted land, and had founded a state in the north of France, which they did not wish to see plundered by newcomers. So they were ready to be friendly with Athelred; and Emma, the sister of their duke, married

[1] Probably because each group was originally intended to send 100 men to the national army for the defence of the country.

[2] The old English word "Unready" or "Redeless" means—unwilling to take good advice; without counsel or wisdom.

the English king. Their son was Edward the Confessor, who has already been mentioned as the last king of the West Saxon line.

Sometimes Athelred, instead of fighting the Danes, paid them to go away. In order to raise money to buy off the Danes, Athelred had to tax the people—the first tax collected in money in England. Because it was first used to buy off the Danes, the English called it "Danegeld" (*geld* means payment); but this tax had to be paid long after the danger from the Danes had passed away.

Another very bad plan which Athelred tried was a massacre of all the Danes who had already settled in Wessex and were suspected of secretly helping their fellow-countrymen from across the sea. The killing took place during a time of peace, and the sister of Sweyn, king of Denmark, was among the victims.

In 1013, Sweyn, the king of Denmark, came over to England with a strong force to punish the faithless king, and to take possession of the land which his people had found so ill-defended. No great resistance was offered, but Sweyn died a few months later, and Athelred, who had fled to Normandy, was called back by the great men of England. He brought with him his son Edmund, who really took the lead in the fighting, and by his bravery won the name of Edmund "Ironside."

When Athelred died soon after, Edmund was chosen king by the English; but the Danes still remained in England, and they sought to place on the throne Sweyn's son, Canute. After several battles, Canute and Edmund agreed to divide the country between them. In this division, Wessex alone was left to the Saxon king—a smaller share than Alfred had won in 878. Even Wessex, however, came under Canute's rule a few months later, when Edmund died.

The Council of "Wise Men" (in Anglo-Saxon, the

Witan), which recalled Athelred from Normandy and later chose Edmund to succeed him, was composed of the great men of the kingdom—the members of the royal family and the leading nobles and churchmen. They were in ordinary times the king's advisers; but, on the death of the king, or in case of a dispute, it was the Witan who declared who should rule over England. On Edmund's death in 1016, they accepted Canute as king.

LOTHIAN ANNEXED TO SCOTLAND.—We have seen in the case of the aldermen how English kings were trying to deal with the problem of governing the most distant parts of their realm. The question was coming up in other countries as well.

In Scotland, for instance, there were seven great officials in separate districts, who were known as "Mormaers"; and they did not like the king to have much power in their part of the country. The Scots kings had enemies on every side of them in the second half of the tenth century. They fought with the Angles or English of Northumbria in the south-east, with the Britons of Strathclyde in the south-west, and with the Northmen (Danes and Norwegians) in the west and north. They fought, too, with their own powerful nobles; and the members of the royal family themselves were sometimes at feud about the succession. It is not wonderful, then, that a number of the kings were slain in battle or murdered before they had time to put down their enemies.

It is said that Edgar the Peaceful handed over Lothian, the district between the Tweed and the Forth, to Kenneth II (the only one of these Scots kings who kept his throne for any length of time), on condition that he accepted Edgar as his superior. But this arrangement did not last for any time, and Lothian did not become part of Scotland till forty years later.

Malcolm II made great efforts to win Lothian while

Athelred was engaged with the Danes. In 1006 he invaded Northumbria and marched south as far as the Wear, but made no definite gain.

At last, in 1018, when Canute was making himself secure in England, Malcolm succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the people of Northumbria, at Carham on the Tweed. Lothian was at last added to Scotland; and if Canute had not been a very strong and wise ruler, Scotland might have become the larger part of Britain. In the same year (1018), the last independent king of Strathclyde died, and that district also came under the power of Malcolm II.

The victory of Carham and the winning of Lothian meant that Scotland was not to be wholly a Celtic country, but that it was to contain a large English element—the Angles of what had been northern Northumbria. The Lowlands afterwards became the more important part of the country; but the original "Scotland" was in the Western Highlands, and the Highlands only seized the Lowlands and made them part of Scotland in 1018.

A few years before the battle of Carham, Malcolm appointed as Mormaer of Caithness and Sutherland, Thorfinn, the young son of the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, who had been ravaging the country. On a small scale this plan is similar to the creation of the Danelaw in England, and of Normandy in France; but, as we shall see, it was not a success.

II. THE RISE OF THE MONARCHY IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

6. THE NORMANS OBTAIN A HOLD ON ENGLAND, 1016-66

CANUTE THE DANE.—Canute turned out to be a wise ruler and, on the whole, a good man. He was generous in his gifts to the Church, and made a pilgrimage to Rome. He was the last English king to visit the Pope until Edward VII.

Canute ruled not only over England, but over Denmark, and, after 1028, over Norway as well; but he made England the centre of his empire, and within England he made Wessex the seat of government. To control the other parts of the country, he appointed "Earls" to rule under him in Mercia, East Anglia, and the two divisions of Northumbria. Each of these tried, as we should expect, to retain his power for his son, to keep the earldom for his family, instead of leaving the king free to appoint anyone he chose. None of these became so important in our history as the family of the earl whom the king later set over Wessex itself, and whose name was Godwin.

Canute kept up the old English ways of preserving the peace (by means of men becoming sureties for each other, and by trials in the hundred-courts), which had been employed by Edgar and Dunstan.

THE GREAT EARLDOMS.—Athelred had found that he could not depend on his aldermen, but that was because he tried to control them, and interfered with them more than previous kings had done. Canute's plan was to give larger powers to fewer men; and this was good, so long as these men were loyal to the king; but it was a very dangerous plan, and we shall see that it broke down when the king was a weaker man than Canute.

Neither of his two sons who succeeded was able to make himself really master of England, and the great earls were the most powerful people in the country. There were now three of these earls, Siward of Northumbria, Leofric of Mercia, and Godwin of Wessex: between the families of the last two there was great rivalry.

Only seven years after Canute's death in 1035, the last of his unworthy sons died, and the English called back Edward, the only surviving son of Athelred the Rash, to rule over them.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.—Edward was not a strong king: he was so mild and gentle that he has been nicknamed the *Confessor* (that is, the priest). His reign was really a struggle between two parties, each of which wished to be accepted by the king as his advisers, so that they might get him to carry out their plans. (1) Edward had been brought up in Normandy during the rule of the Danish Canute and his sons in England: his mother was Emma, the sister of Duke Richard of Normandy; and many Norman nobles and churchmen came over to his court. (2) On the other side, there was an English party, very jealous of the Normans, and headed by Godwin, the Earl of Wessex, whose daughter was married to the king.

For a time, the Norman party prevailed, and Godwin was banished. He took refuge in Flanders (a country to the north-east of Normandy, now part of Belgium).

While Godwin was away from England, William, the Duke of Normandy, visited Edward, and Norman influence in England seemed to be growing greater every day. But next year Godwin returned with so strong a force that the Normans fled from the court, and the king received the earl back into favour. Godwin did not live much longer, but his son, Harold, took his place as Earl of Wessex. Till the Confessor died in January 1066, Harold was the most powerful man in England; and,

for a time, another son of Godwin, Tostig, was Earl of Northumbria.

One of the last deeds of Edward the Confessor, and one by which he may be better remembered than by any act of his government, was the foundation of Westminster Abbey, which was consecrated in December 1065. Westminster Abbey has been for hundreds of years the burying-place of those of our countrymen whom the nation holds in special honour. Here lie noble rulers, able statesmen, generals and admirals, great thinkers and poets. Here, too, are preserved flags that have been carried or captured in Britain's many wars.

HAROLD THE SAXON AND WILLIAM THE NORMAN.—When Edward the Confessor died, the heir to the throne, Edgar "Atheling" (that is, *Prince* Edgar), the grandson of Edmund Ironside, was but a boy, and it was thought wiser not to have as king a mere youth who could not hold his own against his enemies at home and abroad. The English therefore put on the throne their most powerful man, Harold, the son of Godwin.

Danger threatened Harold from two sources—(1) His brother Tostig, the Earl of Northumbria, had been banished for misrule; and he and the King of Norway prepared to invade England to get back his earldom. (2) Besides this, Harold had made some solemn promise to William of Normandy two years before, which he did not keep: the promise may have been that he would help William to be king of England, or that he would regard William as his overlord. Now, if Prince Edgar of Wessex were not to succeed to the throne, William of Normandy or even Harold of Norway had just as good a claim as Harold, the son of Godwin. Both William and the Norwegian king invaded England in the autumn of 1066.

STAMFORD BRIDGE AND HASTINGS.—(1) In September, Harold marched north to Yorkshire, where his brother

and Harold of Norway had landed ; and, by winning the battle of Stamford Bridge near York, in which Harold of Norway and Tostig were both slain, he put an end to any chance of a Norwegian conquest of England. (2) But, while Harold was resting at York after his victory, news reached him that Duke William had landed on 28th September at Pevensey in Sussex. In hot haste he marched south by way of London, although the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria had not come to his aid. On the 14th of October, he was ready to fight the Normans at Hastings.

The English occupied a position on the brow of a hill. For six hours the Normans tried in vain to break their ranks. But if the position was strong against a charge, it was exposed to the deadly flight of arrows which the Norman archers discharged from a safe distance. The mass of the English troops had no armour to protect them, and many fell beneath the steady and fierce fire of arrows. As the centre of the English still remained firm, the Normans pretended to flee, and the English rushed down the hill in disorderly pursuit. On the plain the Norman knights were able to make their victory complete, in spite of the valour of the English. Harold himself was slain by an arrow, and with him fell two of his brothers and the bravest of his men.

AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.—Some years after Malcolm II had secured Lothian by the victory of Carham, Canute made him recognise the English king as his superior ; but Canute's sons were not accepted by the Scots as overlord, because at this time regard was paid to none but a strong and warlike ruler. Malcolm's successor, Duncan, is said to have been slain by Macbeth, mormaer of Moray, who seized the throne and ruled for seventeen years. Duncan's son, however, defeated Macbeth in 1057 in Aberdeenshire, and became king as Malcolm III, though he is generally known by his Celtic nickname,

Malcolm Canmore, or "Big-head." He is the first of the Scots kings about whom we really know anything, and most of that is contained in a *Life* of his queen, Margaret, written by her confessor or priest. This queen was a sister of Edgar Atheling, who took refuge in Scotland after the Norman conquest of England. Thus the old English royal family intermarried with that of the Scots, just after it had been ousted from the English throne.

7. ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

THE CELTS.—We have now seen that our forefathers in Great Britain belonged to several different races. The Celts occupied the whole of the island until after the Romans had departed, but in the fifth century they were driven north and west by the English. The Celts themselves had been divided into Britons and Gaels, and the Britons had previously driven the Gaels away to the north and across to Ireland. The northern Gaels, under the name of Picts, and the Gaels of Ireland or Scotia—the Scots—were very troublesome to the Britons after the departure of the Romans. When the English came, they spoke of the Britons as *Welsh*, a word which at that time meant "foreigners." Thus we hear, in some books, of the Welsh of Strathclyde, the Welsh of Wales, and the Welsh of Cornwall.

There were Celts also in France; but when we speak of the Celtic element in the people of our own country, we include the Picts and the Scots (two branches of the Gaels), and the Britons or Welsh.

During the six hundred years before the Norman Conquest, the eastern part of South Britain had become English, while West and North Britain remained mainly Celtic. Although in 1018 the Celts extended their rule

over the English country of Lothian, between the Forth and the Tweed, the people and the customs of all Scotland have gradually become more and more like those of Lothian—that is, more and more English.

The Danes were a people not unlike the English, who came from the north of Germany quite close to Denmark; and thus it is difficult to say what part, if any, of our national character is due to the Danish inroads.

What the Normans (that is, the Norsemen who had settled in France) did for England we have still to see.

THE ENGLISH BEFORE THE CONQUEST: EORLS, CHURLS, AND SLAVES.—We must try to get an idea of what the English people were like before the Norman Conquest. (1) The members of the "noble" class were known as "eorls." (The special title *Earl* of Mercia, etc., given by Canute is not this word "eorl," but was taken from the Danish *jarl*.)

(2) All other free men were called "churls"; but, as time went on, this class fell into several distinct grades. (*a*) A "thane" was at first a servant of the king, generally a warrior. But later a churl who was very successful in business or owned a large quantity of land might become a thane. (*b*) On the other hand, the country was so unsafe that most free men became dependent on a lord, who protected them from their enemies, and, in return, got the churls to work for him when he required it.

(3) Besides the free men there were a number of slaves, who were usually prisoners taken in war, or debtors who could not pay.

Thus there came to be a greater number of classes between the noble and the slave, and we can see how each of these was valued, from the amount of the fine to be paid for injuring one of them, and the weight attached to his oath. When a man was accused of a crime, he could clear himself if a certain number of respectable people would swear that they believed him "not guilty."

The higher a man's rank, the more weight his oath carried in a case like this.

Towns and Villages.—There were few towns worthy of the name, and no manufactures beyond what was required for clothing, and such things as spades and wheels. When articles were wanted which could not be made on the spot, they had to be bought—sometimes from foreign traders—at one of the markets or fairs, which were held yearly at certain places. These markets were generally held at a place where roads or rivers met, or where there was a bridge or ford, especially if there were also a powerful lord or an abbey near by to protect the people who came to trade. It was in this way that towns began to grow up.

In the country the people lived in little villages or "townships." They built their houses of wood, and they had no glass for windows. The village was often under the protection of some powerful eorl or of the abbot of a monastery. This protector would receive the produce of a certain part of the land, which was tilled for him by the churls who had accepted him as lord. These people were no longer free men, but they were not exactly slaves: they had land of their own, but they were not allowed to go away from the estate of their lord, who extended his power over them as far as he could.

After the Norman Conquest the condition of the churls became still worse. The nature of the change which was going on at this time is seen in the modern meaning of the word churl, which at first meant a free man. The same class of people in Norman times were known as "villeins," which is the origin of our word "villain." The word in modern use which describes the condition into which many of the churls were falling before 1066, and in which by far the greater part of them were included after 1066, is "serf," which means a person dependent on an overlord, whose land he is not

free to leave: if the land passes to another owner, the serf goes with it.

CROPS AND PASTURE.—The fields of a township belonged either to a lord or to all the people of the village. By 1066 almost every township must have felt compelled to submit to the authority of someone who could defend it against the Danes, or against cruel and greedy lords.

It was easy for people to use pasture-lands in common, but for corn-growing each serf wished to have some land to himself, and he also wished to have a fair share of the best land. Hence the great corn-fields were divided into strips, and the head of each family living in the township received a certain number of strips scattered here and there through the field, so as to give him a fair chance of having some of the good land and some of the bad. Every year the people of a village divided these strips among themselves at a village-meeting, which settled questions about crops, grazing, and the use of the waste land which lay between their own village and other villages.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.—Every free man had to be ready to fight in defence of the country in a force called the *Fyrd*, which may be compared to our Territorial Army, but would resemble it more closely if all our men were obliged to receive a training in the Territorials. The people were also required to help in making forts, roads, and bridges.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: TOWNSHIPS, HUNDREDS, AND SHIRES.—Besides the township-meeting, we have seen that King Edgar arranged for meetings of the hundred (a group of townships), and of the shire, which contained several hundreds. In these meetings, disputes were settled and criminals punished. The Bishop sat along with the Alderman, and looked after such business as concerned the Church. The king's interests, such as

his share of fines, were taken care of by a steward, known as the Sheriff; [1] but until the Norman Conquest he was much less important and powerful than the alderman.

The Church was quite content to take part in the shire-court, and had not yet asked for courts of its own, apart from those of the State. Under the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church had come to have some sort of unity throughout the whole of England, much sooner than the State; but the general synods or meetings which had been held earlier were given up at the time of the wars with the Danes.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.—Over all the townships, hundreds, and shares was the Central Government, consisting of (1) the King, and (2) his advisers, the Witan or wise men, who were really the most powerful nobles and churchmen. The king, with the advice of the Witan, issued the laws which were to be observed by the people; but the great trouble lay in getting the laws obeyed, and keeping good order throughout the country. For this purpose, Edgar and Dunstan had relied on the aldermen of each shire; Canute on earls controlling a third part of England each. The system of allowing great earls to act as rulers was a dangerous one, as was seen in the quarrels between the families of Godwin and Leofric.

The Normans were wise enough to preserve the local meetings, in which the English people had managed their own affairs, but they did still better service in bringing the king and his advisers more closely into touch with each district and its affairs by means of officers appointed for the purpose. The Normans thus prepared the way for making England a nation by keeping every part of it in touch with the Central Government.

CONDITIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS.—The Celts of Britain had been driven north and west into highland barren country by their enemies, and even there they had

[1] *I.e.* shire-reeve or shire-steward.

for a long time to remain on their guard against attacks. We therefore find that they often lived on islands in the lakes, or in strong round towers, or even in rooms hollowed out underground. They were by no means savages, and, when their enemies did not trouble them, they could live very comfortably, looking after their sheep and cattle and making simple weapons and ornaments.

As Scotland is more hilly than England, so it was more difficult for the king and his advisers to see that the laws were obeyed by the people in the distant parts of the country, and hence the powers of the local chiefs in the Highlands became very great. These chiefs were the heads of families which had grown more numerous from generation to generation, and had become tribes or *clans*. Above the chiefs was the *mormaer*, who was at first appointed by the king, but who usually sought to increase his own power and to hand it on to his son. The mormaer was not always the leader whom the people of the district would have chosen, and he often had trouble in forcing them to obey. If he could get them to obey him, he sometimes employed them against another mormaer or against the king himself.

CONDITIONS IN IRELAND.—While the English were conquering Britain and fighting among themselves, the Celts of "Scotia" (or Ireland) were much less disturbed. In the seventh and eighth centuries, while the Continent of Europe was suffering from the inroads of the barbarian tribes from the north and west (Goths, Franks, and Lombards), art and learning flourished in Ireland more than anywhere else in Europe.

The Celts of Ireland had become Christian during the Roman occupation, and we have seen how their missionaries went later to Iona and thence to Lindisfarne. The schools of Northumbria, which became even more famous than those of Ireland because they were more closely in touch with Europe, owed much of their

learning to the Irish monks who had copied and studied books during the Dark Age.

Ireland had escaped the Anglo-Saxon invasion, but it was attacked by the Danes in the ninth century and all that was cultured and refined perished in the wild pagan attacks. At last, as had happened in England a century before, the king of the south-west—the part least affected by the early invasions—managed to defeat the Danes and drive them back.

This same king, Brian Boru, was able to do for Ireland the good work which Edward and Athelstan and Alfred had done for their country. He drove the Danes back to the east coast, and routed them at Clontarf near Dublin in 1013—a battle that may be compared with Brunanburgh. But Brian himself was killed in the battle, and so had no chance of uniting his country and giving it peace, as Edgar and Dunstan had done for England. Ireland fell again into confusion, with a number of petty kings fighting among themselves for the mastery.

8. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND MALCOLM CANMORE, 1057-93

NORMAN CONQUEST COMPLETED.—After the battle of Hastings William moved towards the great trading town of London. On his approach Edgar Atheling and some of the chief men, seeing that resistance was hopeless, came out and accepted him as king. William was crowned in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day.

William saw the great importance of London, and at once ordered it to be strongly fortified. These defences were the beginning of the Tower of London, which has played a great part in our history both as a palace and as a prison. The king also gave a very short charter to the city of London, promising his protection.

In 1068 William had to put down an English rising in the south-west, and in the next year another in the north. Edgar Atheling, who had fled to Scotland and whose sister, Margaret, married the Scots king, invaded Northumbria, with a Scots army. The Danes too lent their help, but William quickly quelled the rising. He laid waste part of Yorkshire and Durham thoroughly and savagely. Many generations passed before the country recovered from the fire and sword that destroyed farms, stock, and tools, as well as men, women, and children. From this time the English of the north country rebelled no more against William, although in the Fen country, near the Wash, a band of heroic men held out till 1071, under one Hereward, whose doughty deeds against the Normans became the subject of many English tales.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—William regarded himself not only as the king of the English but as the lord of all the land. He took away the lands of all who opposed him, and granted them to some of his Norman friends, on condition that they would come to the king's aid when need arose, with a certain number of armed men. Even those who did not oppose him had to give up their land and receive it back on these conditions. Land held in this way was called a "fief," and the tenant was called the "vassal" of the lord. The Normans and Englishmen who now held the land from the king granted it in their turn to other people, who had to promise to come and fight for them when required.

The mass of the people, the English, needed protection against the unruly Norman barons,[1] who did not always respect the king's peace or their neighbour's property. The Normans became a superior *caste* or class, and the

[1] The "barons" were those who held land directly from the king on condition of military service. There were about 1400 of these "barons" in England under the Norman kings.

English were crushed down into a lower grade. Thus, as we have seen, most Englishmen fell into the class of villeins or serfs, holding some land, but not allowed to leave the lord's estate. They received protection from the lord, but owed him service in return. They cultivated his fields and allowed him to settle their disputes; they were liable to be punished by his court if they did wrong, and were also bound to follow him if he went to war.

The overlord of these peasants himself had an overlord from whom he had his land on condition of attending his court and of finding him a number of warriors; and thus, although no one really *owned* his land except the king, the holding of land was the tie upon which depended the army, the enforcement of justice, and the whole social system. This arrangement is known as the Feudal System.

WILLIAM AND HIS BARONS.—It would have been a very risky thing to let even the most loyal supporters of the king become the masters of too large an area, and William was well aware of this danger. He appointed no Earl of Wessex or of Mercia; but, as lands were seized from the English here and there, he gave his barons portions all over the country. To some he gave the title of Earl of some shire or other, but this conferred much less power than Canute had given to his Earls.

In spite of his careful measures, or perhaps *because* of the restraints he imposed on the power of the barons, William found that he had to face rebellions of the Normans both in England and in Normandy. The tenants of the barons were likely to follow their own lord even against the king, and William wished, therefore, to create a direct bond between himself and his subjects. He did this by gathering all the great landholders, whether they held land directly from him or not, to a meeting on Salisbury Plain in 1086, and making each of them swear to be loyal to himself.

WILLIAM AND THE CHURCH.—William appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury his friend Lanfranc, an Italian who was prior of a Norman abbey. As head of the Church in England, Lanfranc encouraged learning, built churches and schools, and made the life of the monks more strict. William allowed the Church to have (*a*) its own law courts, and also (*b*) meetings or synods in which it could manage its own affairs, quite apart from the councils of the State.

This was rather a dangerous step, because the Popes held that the Church was above the State, and wished to make it more powerful than the State. To put a check upon this, William declared that the king's consent must be obtained—(1) before any person could be recognised as Pope, and before letters could be received from the Pope; (2) before the decrees of the Church meetings or synods could be put in force; and (3) before any of the king's barons or servants could be punished by being excommunicated, that is, shut out from the services of the Church.

WILLIAM AND THE STATE.—Just as system and order were secured in the government of the Church, so in the State William made a slight change which worked very well. He increased the power of the sheriffs, who acted as the king's stewards in each county. The sheriff was not likely to threaten the king's power unless he held a large amount of land in the county, and this was generally avoided. In other ways the local government of the English remained as before. The meetings of the hundred and of the shire went on, but every township or village was now regarded as forming a "manor," that is, the estate of an overlord: sometimes a manor included more than one of the old townships.

With England's closer connection with the Continent, trade increased, and the towns began to look to the king for the grant of charters like that of London, or like

those of some towns on the Continent, which had greater rights of managing their own affairs. The meetings of the people of the shires and the rights which the towns or burghs enjoyed are very important, because out of them, as we shall see, there arose our modern House of Commons.

Our House of Lords arose from the GREAT COUNCIL,[1] the assembly which took the place of the Witan. Just as the tenants on a manor attended the court of the lord from whom they held their land, so those who held land directly from the king were bound to attend his court; and he could ask the advice of all or any of them. Only the most important of these people—some of them bishops or heads of great monasteries, others very powerful barons—would come regularly to the court or council; but in principle the Great Council was made up of all the "tenants-in-chief," that is, of all those who held their land directly from the king and not from any other overlord.

The ordinary work of government was carried on by a small number of advisers, who in time came to be known as the KING'S COURT.[2]

THE DOMESDAY BOOK.—Before calling the great meeting of the landholders on Salisbury Plain which we have referred to, William caused a survey to be made of all the land in England, with the object of knowing how heavily he could tax it. In each hundred, several of the chief people were chosen to give information to the Norman clerks who were sent out through the country by William. Those who gave such information were sworn to tell the truth, and are therefore spoken of as "juries."[3]

Reports were made by the clerks about the quantity

[1] *Latin*, Magnum Concilium.
[2] *Latin*, Curia Regis.
[3] From the Latin, *jurare*, to swear.

of land held by each owner: the nature of the land—forest, pasture, or arable (the last being measured by the number of ploughs); the number of freemen and villeins, and the live stock; and the value of the land both at the time of the survey and in the time of Edward the Confessor. The purpose of all these details is seen in the last question—"Can the land pay more to the king than it has been paying?"

This inquiry was called the Domesday Inquest, and the book in which the records are still kept goes by the old English name of Domesday[1] Book. It is our great source of information about the state of England in Norman times. Other sources are the chronicles, which were still kept by the English monks in some of the abbeys.

DEATH OF WILLIAM.—In 1087, the year after the Domesday Inquiry was completed, while William was making war in France, he met with an accident which caused his death after a few weeks. He left Normandy to his eldest son Robert; England to William (Rufus); and only a sum of money to Henry, the youngest. William's friend, Archbishop Lanfranc, who had governed the Church as wisely as William had ordered the affairs of the State, died two years later.

SCOTLAND AND THE NORMANS.—About 1068 Malcolm Canmore, the King of Scotland, married the sister of Edgar Atheling. The claims of the English royal family were a useful pretext for the Scots to invade the realm of the Norman Conqueror. If they could not drive out the Normans, they might at least annex part of Northumbria to Scotland.

But in 1072 William came north with a fleet and an army, and met Malcolm at Abernethy on the Tay. It was agreed that the Scots king should keep all his lands, but that he should recognise William as overlord, and

[1] From A.S. *dóm*, judgement.

perform the usual feudal services, that is, help him in war and attend his court when summoned. The fief for which Malcolm was William's vassal was not stated, but it was probably Cumberland or Lothian (which had come under the Scots in 1018).

In any case, Malcolm took advantage of every chance to invade England and distress his overlord. He made one invasion when William was in Normandy in 1079, and another in 1091, when the Conqueror was dead and his sons were fighting each other in Normandy. Each attack was followed by a Norman invasion of Scotland. After the first, the English built a new castle (Newcastle) on the Tyne; after the second, they kept Cumberland (southern Strathclyde) and put a garrison in Carlisle.

The Scots king again invaded England in 1093, but was surprised and killed near Alnwick. His Queen, the English Margaret, generally known in Scotland as St Margaret, was seriously ill at the time, and died on hearing the news.

Margaret had done much to make the Scots court more refined and even magnificent. She was very pious and a good friend of the Church. Her confessor wrote an account of her life, but he tells us little about State affairs in Scotland, although it is clear that Margaret helped greatly to make the court more English. A still greater influence was introduced over the whole of southern Scotland by the many Englishmen who fled to the north, when the Conqueror was harrying Durham and Yorkshire.

9. NORMAN KINGS IN ENGLAND, 1087-1154

Tyranny of William Rufus.—The Norman barons in England did not like the division of the Conqueror's lands between his sons, because they themselves held lands on both sides of the Channel; and, if the rulers of

England and of Normandy should quarrel, the barons might have to choose between them and give up the lands they owned in one of the countries. The barons knew, also, that Robert was a weaker man than William, and that they could get more of their own way if Robert were king of England.

For these reasons William II (who was nicknamed Rufus, that is, The Red) had twice to put down risings of the Normans in England; and to do this he called the *English* to help him—the old national "fyrd," which we have compared to the Territorials—not merely his own feudal tenants.

William not only crushed these risings of the Norman barons, but fought with success in Cumberland, Wales, and France. But Rufus was not a wise statesman like his father or his brother Henry: he was cruel and extremely selfish. Archbishop Lanfranc had been able to restrain him a little, but Lanfranc died in 1089.

Rufus appointed no archbishop to succeed Lanfranc for four years, and in the meantime his chief adviser was Ranulf Flambard, the Bishop of Durham, who built the great cathedral there. Flambard extorted as much money as he could from the king's tenants on various pretences; he kept the places of abbots and bishops vacant, and took all the revenues for the king; in the courts of justice, too, bribes as well as heavy fines were taken to add to the king's revenue. Flambard was an able man, but he was very greedy and quite faithless, and, like most Normans, he despised the English.

In 1093 Rufus fell sick and was persuaded that it would be well for him, before he died, to do what good he could by appointing as Archbishop of Canterbury a saintly abbot named Anselm. Although this simple and sincere monk had no wish to become an archbishop, the sick king in terror of death forced him to accept the high office. But Rufus recovered from that illness, and

it was easily seen that such a king and such an archbishop could not agree, especially at a time when the Pope was insisting that the Church was above the State and must not submit to it in any way. Anselm did his utmost to withstand the king in his evil ways, but after four years of quarrelling the archbishop was forced to retire to Rome, leaving his estates in the king's hands.

Flambard continued to extort money by every possible means. The Normans were very fond of hunting, and the Conqueror had laid waste a large tract of land near Winchester in order to use it as a hunting ground—the New Forest. All the king's forests were very carefully preserved, and severe laws were put in force against poachers.

One day in August 1100 Rufus was found dead in the New Forest, shot by an arrow. The companion who had been hunting with him fled, but that does not prove that it was he who slew the king. We can never know who fired the arrow, but William's unhappy end was generally looked on as a punishment for his cruel forest laws and his harsh treatment of the poor.

In 1096 William's brother Robert had set out for the Holy Land to fight in the first "Crusade," a Christian expedition to win back Jerusalem from the Mohammedans or Saracens. To raise money for the expedition, he had pawned the Duchy of Normandy, and had left it in pledge with his brother William while he himself should be absent. It was partly in order to raise the money to lend to Robert that William taxed the people of England so heavily.

Good Government of Henry Beauclerk.—Robert was still away on Crusade when William was killed, and Henry, the third son of the Conqueror, took advantage of this to seize the English Crown. He was strong enough to get the Great Council to elect him, and then he tried in several ways to win the favour of the people.

(1) He issued a charter, stating that the abuses and excessive taxes of the last reign were to cease, and that the king would take no more from his tenants than was lawfully due to him: this affected the Norman barons especially.

(2) Henry had been born in England, and he now gained the goodwill of the English by his marriage with Maud, the niece of Edgar Atheling. This also made the Scots friendly to him, for Maud was the daughter of their king, Malcolm Canmore. In his charter Henry promised to the English the laws of King Edward the Confessor—that is, the customs of what were regarded as "the good old days" before the Norman Conquest.

(3) He put Flambard in prison, and called Anselm back to England. This meant a change of the whole tone of government, which was pleasing to all right-thinking people, whether English or Norman: it was regarded as showing that the king was willing to be guided by good advice.

When Anselm came back to England, it soon became clear that his views about the rights of the Church had become more extreme during his absence, and he and Henry found that they could not agree. A bishop was an officer of the Church, but he held his lands from the king, and owed service for them like any baron. So the question arose, Who was to appoint the person who was to hold this double position—the Pope or the King?

The dispute was not quickly settled. Anselm had again to go into exile for four years before he and Henry came to an agreement. The ring and staff which were the symbols of authority over the Church were to be handed to the bishop by churchmen, but homage was to be done to the King in return for the lands of the bishopric.

Henry was nicknamed Beauclerk, the scholar; and in his reign there was a revival of learning among the monks and a stricter way of living was introduced among

them on the coming of the Cistercians. This was a new order of monks, who founded abbeys and monasteries in many of the pleasant valleys and uplands of England, such as Tintern in Monmouth, Rievaulx and Fountains in Yorkshire. These monasteries came to have large flocks of sheep on their land, and the monks were the real founders of our great woollen industry. In Henry's time, too, we find that Oxford was beginning to be a centre of education, as several teachers were giving lectures there on subjects of special interest to churchmen.

Henry took as his chief adviser Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who was an even abler man than Ranulf Flambard, and used his ability to better purpose. A sort of branch or committee of the King's Court—" the Exchequer "—was set up to look after money matters, leaving to the King's Court the work of seeing that the laws were properly obeyed.

It became the custom to send out commissioners from the King's Court to the various shire and hundred meetings, both to see that justice was done and to see that taxes were paid. The king himself moved about all over the country from one of his manors to another, and was thus able to see for himself that his people were not oppressed, and that justice and order were maintained.

Trade increased and towns flourished in the fairly peaceful times of Henry I. Towns began to receive more liberal charters, giving them the right to manage their own affairs. By far the most important of these was that of London, whose citizens were not only freed from various taxes and allowed to hold courts of their own, but were even given authority over the county of Middlesex.

Although Henry was more of a scholar and a statesman than Rufus, he too had some fighting to do. (1) He defeated and banished the cruellest and most dangerous of the Norman barons, Robert de Bellesme; and (2)

exactly forty years from the day when William I landed in England, Henry, with an army composed mostly of Englishmen, won the battle of Tinchebrai in Normandy, by which Normandy was again united to England. Duke Robert, who had returned from the Crusade, was taken prisoner, and was kept in confinement for the rest of his life. A king of England had now annexed Normandy. The English people began to feel their self-respect returning : though their king was still a Norman, he had been born in England, and had married a princess of the old English royal family.

Henry and his English-Scots Queen, Maud, had only one son, William. When this son was drowned by the sinking of the *White Ship* off the coast of Normandy in 1120, his sister, the Princess Matilda, was left as the natural heiress to the throne. Although no Queen had ruled previously in England, Henry, before he died in 1135, made the barons swear to accept Matilda as his successor ; but the promises he received were not kept, for few of the barons cared to have a woman as overlord. None of the Conqueror's sons had left a male heir ; and so the barons chose as king, Stephen, the son of the Conqueror's daughter, Adela.

ANARCHY UNDER STEPHEN.—More than half of Stephen's reign of nineteen years is taken up by war between his supporters and those of Matilda. A chronicler of his own time said that Stephen was " a mild king, and soft and good and did no justice." That is, he was a weak king ; and the Feudal System required a strong king at the head of the nation.

Stephen made matters worse by quarrelling with the Church. He seized the castles and treasures of Roger, the too-powerful Bishop of Salisbury, and of his two nephews, the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, whom he suspected of treason. The leading churchmen in England, including Stephen's own brother, were so indignant at

this attack on their bishops that they went over to the side of Matilda.

For a time Stephen found himself a prisoner; but Matilda was so cold and proud that she failed to win the friendship of either Normans or English, and within about a year she lost all the ground she had gained. When Stephen's eldest son, Eustace, died in 1153, it was agreed by the Treaty of Wallingford that Stephen should be allowed to be king for his life, but that Matilda's son Henry should succeed him. Within a year from the treaty, Stephen died.

During all these troubles many of the barons did not care greatly who ruled over England. They built strong castles, harried the lands of their neighbours, and bullied all who could not defend themselves.

It was the work of Stephen's successor to restore the good order of the days of his grandfather, Henry I, and to check both the unruly barons and a Church striving for power.

10. SCOTLAND UNDER THE SONS OF MALCOLM CANMORE, 1093-1153

Celt and Saxon in Scotland.—The favour shown by Malcolm Canmore and Margaret to the English part of their subjects roused the anger and jealousy of the Celts, and for four years after the death of the king and queen, Scotland was disturbed by an attempt of the Highlanders to win back the power which they had held before the conquest of Lothian. The Celts found a leader in Malcolm's brother, Donald, who became king after a struggle and then divided the kingdom with one of Margaret's sons, Edmund. Donald ruled north of the Forth, and Edmund to the south; but this arrangement did not last long.

The reunion of the country was brought about by the

last male descendant of the old English House of Wessex, Edgar Atheling, the unhappy boy who had been supplanted first by Harold and then by William. It was the one great success of the Atheling's life when he defeated Donald and Edmund, and made his sister's son Edgar king of Scotland. Malcolm Canmore had ruled at Dunfermline: Edgar moved the capital south of the Forth to Edinburgh. After their first defeat, the Celts appear to have accepted Edgar peaceably.

William Rufus had supplied the army which the Atheling led, and Edgar of Scotland seems to have accepted the Norman king as his overlord; but what the land was which Edgar held from William is not certain. The relations between England and Scotland became still closer when Henry I married King Edgar's sister, changing her English name Edith into the Norman Maud.

On the other hand, Scotland was glad to make peace with the King of Norway by admitting his claim not only to the Orkney Islands but to the whole of the Hebrides.

Edgar was succeeded by his brother, Alexander, who began to introduce Norman-English influence into northern Scotland, and the way was prepared for the easy and rapid adoption of Norman usages in Church and State under David, the last of the sons of Malcolm Canmore, who succeeded his brother in 1124.

David I. and Stephen.—Under the rule of David, Scotland flourished greatly at the time when England was in utter confusion under Stephen. David was stronger than any previous king of Scotland, and with the aid of the Normans and English with whom he had become friendly while he lived in England, he was easily able to put down a rebellion of the Celtic Mormaer of Moray.

David, by his marriage with the granddaughter of Siward, Earl of Northumbria, had obtained the Earldom of Huntingdon and many estates in England, although

Henry I would not allow him to take the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Westmorland. But David was not content with his wife's dowry so long as it did not include the whole of Siward's earldom. He invaded England several times, professing to be a supporter of Matilda, who was his niece.

The first time, Stephen tried to buy off the Scots king by giving him the castles of Carlisle and Doncaster; later, the English met the Scots at Northallerton in Yorkshire and severely defeated them. The English were led by the Archbishop of York, and carried into battle a consecrated standard bearing the banners of the patron saints of York, Ripon, and Beverley. On account of this the battle is sometimes called "The Battle of the Standard." But although David was beaten, Stephen was not in a position to fight him again. He therefore agreed to let David's son hold not only the Earldom of Huntingdon but that of Northumberland, with the exception of the strongholds of Bamburgh and Newcastle.

DAVID I. AND THE NORMANS.—We have seen (1) that the battle of Carham in 1018 united Lothian with Scotland; and (2) that the English element in Scotland was further strengthened half a century later when Malcolm Canmore married the English Margaret, and English fugitives from the ravaged Northumbria settled all over the south of Scotland. (3) The third step towards making Scotland more like England was now taken when David and his Normans set up in Scotland the Feudal System to which they were accustomed in England.

David had always lived amongst English and Normans, and he brought many of his Norman friends to Scotland; among these were the forefathers of the Bruces and the Stewarts.[1]

[1] The name Stewart or Steward is a title—the Steward of the Kingdom of Scotland, the office held by the family before they came to the throne.

In David's time a large number of abbeys were founded in Scotland, such as Holyrood, Melrose, and Dryburgh. Scotland already had some growing towns, and there was a union of four burghs—Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick-on-Tweed—which from time to time sent commissioners to meet at Haddington. Rules—often copied from those of towns in England or France—were made at these meetings, about honest and fair trading, about keeping the peace, and about the settlement of disputes and the punishment of those who did wrong.

The king rewarded his Norman friends for their help by granting them lands in Scotland on the usual feudal conditions. The rebellion in Moray gave David an opportunity to plant a colony of Normans there; and in the south-west there was much waste land that could be given to the Normans without disturbing greatly the rights of other land-owners. The Celtic title of Mormaer passed away, and that of Earl took its place.

A Norman Manor.—The manor of a Norman lord in England or Scotland at this time consisted of—(*a*) *the "demesne" land*, that is, land belonging to the lord, and not let by him to any tenant, but tilled for his own benefit by the villeins during a certain part of each week; (*b*) *the ploughland*, divided into three great fields, in which each villein had a number of scattered strips: three fields were required in order to allow the soil to recover after a crop of wheat had been grown. Every year one field would have wheat, one oats, and one would be fallow (that is, grass only). Each field would go through each of these states in turn: (*c*) *the pasture-land* or meadow, common to all the people on the manor, for grazing sheep and cows; and (*d*) surrounding the manor, the greenwood or *waste land*, where the villagers generally kept pigs. On each manor, too, there would be the lord's castle, a

church, and perhaps lands belonging to the church, and the thatched wooden huts of the villeins.

The usual amount of land held by a villein was thirty acres, probably in thirty separate strips. On some manors there were a few freemen with large holdings who owed only service in time of war and not labour on the lord's farm. The villeins owed certain services to their lord—so many days' work each week, with extra days where there was much to be done, as at harvest time.

The villein could not leave the land: if the land changed owners, the villein went with it. On the other hand, so long as he performed his services, he could not be turned off the land. There were three ways in which a villein might become a free man:—(1) He might pay his overlord money for his release. (2) He might become a monk. (3) He might run away and settle in a town: in this case he could be taken back by his lord, if found and claimed within a year and a day.

KNIGHTS AND MINSTRELS.—One or two other features of the age may be noticed. It was the time of the foundation of several religious Orders of Knights, of whom the Hospitallers [1] and Templars [2] were the most important. It was the age of Chivalry, when knights found amusement in battles and tournaments, and cared little for the poor people who suffered because of their forays.

It was a time of wandering minstrels, who composed poems and sang them—often to the music of the harp. But for all who were not warriors it was an age of insecurity, and their best hope lay in a strong king who would not oppress his subjects unlawfully, and would not allow anyone else to oppress them at all. Next to being a warrior—or perhaps a monk, if one had a taste for

[1] The Hospitallers or Knights of St John built a hospital for pilgrims at Jerusalem about 1048.

[2] The Templars were founded in 1119 to protect the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and those who went on pilgrimage to it.

learning—it was best in those days to live in one of the towns which were growing up, generally under the protection of a castle, and which were gaining such privileges as freedom from tolls, the control of their own markets, and the election of their own magistrates.

II. THE STRONG RULE OF HENRY II, 1154-89

HENRY'S POSSESSIONS.—Henry II was the son of the Empress Matilda, whose claim to the throne had given rise to the troubles of Stephen's reign. Matilda had married, first, Henry V of Germany, the head of the Holy Roman Empire; and, afterwards, Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a French province south of Normandy. The rulers of Normandy and Anjou had long been on bad terms, for each claimed rights over the large district called Maine, which lay between their lands. As the result of the marriage of Geoffrey and Matilda, their son Henry II of England united Normandy, Maine, and Anjou under his own rule. As Henry belonged on his father's side to the House of Anjou, he and his descendants are spoken of as the Angevins.[1]

Then, in 1152, Henry married Eleanor, the heiress of the great French provinces south of the Loire, which are generally known as Aquitaine, although there are different names for the different parts, the most important being Gascony in the south-west and Poitou in the north-west. This Eleanor had been married to Louis VII, King of France, and had just been divorced from him when she married Henry. Her possessions, added to those which Henry had inherited,[2] made him master of more than half of France; and the King of France, as Henry's over-

[1] Angevin is the adjective from Anjou.

[2] Henry also secured a hold on Brittany by the marriage of his son, Geoffrey, to its heiress.

lord, very naturally did all he could to hamper and weaken his too-powerful vassal.

ORDER RESTORED.—Henry began by destroying many of the castles which the unruly barons had built during Stephen's reign. Then he set about arranging the whole system of government so carefully that it would not be easy for the barons ever again to try to make themselves free from the king's control. In 1173-4 the barons revolted, both in Normandy and in England. Henry put down the rising in France, which was headed by his sons ; while his officials in England not only crushed the rebels there but captured the Scots king, who had taken advantage of Henry's troubles to invade England. The great revolt of 1173-4 was the last attempt of the feudal barons to secure power to do as they liked on their own estates.

Normans and Englishmen were beginning to settle down together, and to recognise that in most respects their interests were the same. Until 1174 the king was able to use the English to check the power of the barons. After 1174 the king became so strong that the English soon began to help the barons against any king who misused his power.

Henry fought many campaigns against the King of France and against his own rebellious sons, but it is not because of his success in war that he ranks as one of the greatest of English kings.

HENRY'S GOOD GOVERNMENT : WEAKENING OF FEUDALISM.—Henry brought the royal government more directly into touch with the people. Under the Norman kings, justice and defence depended on the relations between landlord and tenant. The tenant owed his lord " suit and service " ; that is, attendance at his court to give him advice and to have disputes settled (" suit "), and military support in time of war (" service "). Henry wished that the people should look for justice and defence directly to the king and his officials.

I. JUSTICE. (*a*) *Juries*—Henry II ordered that inquiries should be made in each township so that information might be given to the shire meeting about any persons suspected of *crime*. In the shire court the person suspected was not tried by a judge and jury who considered what was said both for and against him. His neighbours had already sworn that they believed him guilty; and so a sort of appeal was made to God to work a small miracle in his favour if he should chance to be innocent. This was known as the "Ordeal," and one common form of it was that the accused had to pick a small stone out of a vessel of boiling water: if his hand was completely healed after three days, the man was not convicted. But, even so, the bad opinion of his neighbours was considered so important that he was required to leave the country.

This was the usual English manner of trial. The Normans had been in the habit of settling *disputes about ownership of land* by "wager of battle,"—that is, simply by single combat, in which again it was left to Providence to see that right prevailed. But Henry now ordered that these cases also should be decided by the oath of people who might be expected to know the facts.

Out of this plan the modern idea of a jury gradually grew. The jury were at first people who were likely to know, and they were sworn to give a true opinion to the best of their ability: they were more like witnesses than modern jurymen.

(*b*) *Visiting Judges*—Henry appointed a number of justices or judges, who were sent round the country to see that the laws were obeyed. This was necessary in order to prevent quite different usages from growing up in the different parts of England.

In these ways, Henry was extending the control of the State over justice all through the country, and trying to make it more reasonable and more uniform.

II. DEFENCE. Under the Feudal System, not only

justice but the means for the defence of the country depended on the holding of land. The king called on his tenants, and they on their sub-tenants: the State had not a direct claim on the people, but only indirectly through several grades of landlords. Henry sought to put the army on a more businesslike footing and to bring it more under the control of the Central Government, by two measures—

(*a*) He revived the old English *fyrd*, the national *militia* of all the people bound to fight for the defence of the country; and

(*b*) He allowed the barons to pay him a sum of money instead of bringing their tenants to fight abroad. With the money the king could *hire troops* when he had to fight on the Continent. Several results followed from this arrangement.

(1) The barons who paid "shield-money" or "scutage" would no longer need to have soldiers ready to follow them, such as they had formerly been able to lead even against the king.

(2) In time of war, less suffering was caused to the sub-tenants, because they were not taken out of the country away from their daily work. Henry's plan thus enabled war to be carried on at a smaller cost, and with less distress to the people.

(3) Again, just as the king preferred to receive money from the barons, so the barons in turn came to take money instead of some of the services due to them; and some of the villeins began to pay for their land by a money rent, and not by labouring on the lord's land. This did not often happen so early as the twelfth century, but it took place more frequently as time went on.

A great deal had thus been done to break up the Feudal System. The court of the feudal landowner was not the only court of justice: his feudal tenants were not the only armed force. It was becoming possible to govern

the whole country from one centre, without making constant use of the tie between landlord and tenant.

THOMAS BECKET.—For seven years (1155-62) Henry had the wise counsel of his Chancellor, Thomas Becket, to assist him in his plans. When Henry wished to increase his control over the Church he made Becket Archbishop, thinking that he would be the best man to help him. Becket was not very willing to accept the office, but Henry would take no refusal.

When Becket became Archbishop, he refused to be Chancellor any longer, and behaved just as the Pope would have wished, and not at all as Henry desired. He upheld all the rights and privileges of the churchmen, expecially their right to be tried by the Church courts and not in the King's courts. His conduct at last became so provoking, that the king in a fit of passion cried out, "Will no one of those who eat at my table rid me of this troublesome priest?" Four of Henry's knights, seeing how angry he was with Becket, and thinking no doubt to win favour by the deed, went straight to Canterbury Cathedral and murdered the Archbishop. The people at once hailed Becket as a martyr, and he became the most popular of English saints. Pilgrims visited his tomb not only from all parts of England, but from other Christian countries as well. It was on the way to the shrine of St Thomas that Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims told their famous tales.

HENRY AND IRELAND.—In 1170, Ireland, or at least the eastern part of Ireland, was conquered by one of Henry's barons, Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke. Henry's help had been begged by Dermot, King of Leinster, who had been driven into exile by his enemies. Henry could not visit Ireland himself at the time, but he allowed Clare to go. Clare was very successful. He won back Leinster, married Dermot's daughter, and, on the death of his father-in-law, succeeded to his kingdom.

Henry then went over in 1171, and Clare and many of the Irish chiefs received him as their overlord. The region which accepted English law was known as The Pale.

HENRY AND SCOTLAND. — Over Scotland also, Henry II secured greater authority than any English king had previously held. David I's only son had died in 1152, and he was therefore succeeded by his grandson, a youth of feeble health, known as Malcolm the Maiden. In 1157 Henry induced Malcolm to give up Northumberland, Durham, and Westmorland, which David had gained for his son in Stephen's time.

Malcolm's successor was his brother, known as William the Lion, who reigned for about fifty years. His attack on Northumberland at the time of the great revolt against Henry II in 1173-4 ended in a terrible disaster for Scotland. William was surprised and captured at Alnwick. He was taken to Normandy, and at Falaise was made to accept Henry as his overlord for the whole of Scotland, which thus became a "fief" held by grant from the king of England.

This state of things lasted for fifteen years; but in 1189 Henry's son, Richard I, restored Scotland's independence in return for the payment of 10,000 marks. Richard wished to go on a Crusade to the Holy Land, and he was willing to sell rights and privileges of all sorts for money. For a hundred years after this bargain, Scotland and England were on terms of peace and friendship.

12. RICHARD AND JOHN OPPRESS THEIR SUBJECTS, 1189-1216

RICHARD I AND THE CRUSADE.—Richard the Lion-hearted, son of Henry II, was king of England for ten years, but there was little connection between the history of England and the history of Richard during these years.

England had to pay, first, for the king's Crusade; then for his ransom when he fell into the hands of an enemy on the way home; and, lastly, for the French war which he began only a few weeks after returning to his kingdom in 1194. England was ruled during these years by the officials who had been trained by Henry II, of whom the greatest was Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who became Justiciar (or regent) in 1194.

To raise the money required for the Crusade, Richard sold the independence of Scotland, sold lands, titles, offices, and bishoprics. The barons who went with him to the East had fewer rights and privileges to sell, and many of them fell deeply in debt to the Jews, who alone lent money at interest in those days, because the Christian Church did not approve of it. To demand payment of interest for a loan was regarded as taking unfair advantage of a neighbour's need.

The Jews had no such scruples in taking as high interest as they could. But the Norman lords, who were about to set out on a religious mission, were not disposed to submit to harsh terms at the hands of the enemies of their faith; and they took revenge on the Jews by setting the mobs of London and York against them in 1189 and 1190. In both places many of the Jews perished, and records of debts due to them were destroyed whenever they were found.

Amongst the privileges which the king and the barons could give in exchange for money were—(1) the right of the master traders within a town to unite in a body to arrange their methods of trading, and of those of each trade to control its own business; (2) the right of the town itself to manage its own affairs.

JOHN AND NORMANDY.—When Richard was killed fighting in France, the crown might have fallen to Arthur, the son of his next brother, Geoffrey, but Arthur was only a boy of twelve. He could not have ruled himself, and in

order to prevent any dispute as to who should rule in his name, the crown was given to John, a younger brother of Richard.

A war broke out with Philip, King of France, who supported Arthur. Arthur was captured by John, and put in prison, where he died in 1203. Philip then accused John of causing his nephew's death: he had already declared the fiefs held by the English king in France to be forfeited, and in 1204 he seized Normandy and the other provinces north of the Loire.

JOHN AND THE POPE.—On the death of Hubert Walter, the great Justiciar and Archbishop, in 1205, a dispute arose about the appointment of a new Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope rejected both the man whom the king proposed and the man whom the English churchmen proposed, and instead consecrated one Stephen Langton. John refused to admit Langton, and even persisted in his refusal for five years after the Pope had made a decree known as an Interdict (1208), which ordered that no churches should be opened or religious services of any kind performed in England. The Pope went a step further: in 1212 he excommunicated John, and declared him to be no longer king. To enforce this decree, he invited Philip of France to take possession of the vacant throne of England.

John had been ruling very unjustly and selfishly, and he was not sure that he could count upon the support of his barons. He became afraid, and made an abject submission to the Pope, agreeing to hold England as his vassal.

THE GREAT CHARTER.—John's third struggle was against his own barons and people. Langton, the Archbishop appointed by the Pope, headed a general rising of all classes against John, and suggested Henry I's coronation charter as a model for the promises to be demanded from the king. On the 15th of June 1215,

at Runnymede on the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, John was forced to accept "the Great Charter," as the only condition upon which the barons and people were willing to acknowledge him any longer as their king.

By the Great Charter the king promised—

1. Not to interfere with the privileges of churchmen.

2. Not to exact from the barons more than was due to him as their feudal overlord.

3. To levy no scutage or special tax on his feudal tenants save by "the common counsel of the kingdom," that is, with the consent of the Great Council, to which all those who held land directly from the king were to be summoned.

4. To see that justice was done promptly and freely, and that no freeman was condemned except by the judgement of his fellow-tenants in the court of their overlord or after trial by combat.[1]

5. To make the forest laws less harsh and cruel.

What the king granted to his barons, they in their turn were to grant to their tenants. Twenty-five barons were appointed to see that the king acted in accordance with the Charter, and to lead the people against the king if he broke his promises.

But John had no intention of keeping his promises. The Pope, as head of the Church, freed him from his oath; and John was able to renew the struggle. The barons sent to France for help, and Louis, the son of the French king, landed with French troops in England.

[1] These were the methods of trial which the Norman barons preferred. It really meant going back from Henry II's attempt to have trials in the shire-courts and before the King's Justices. But the phrases used in the Charter, "by the judgement of his peers or by the law of the land" soon lost their feudal meaning, and were appealed to in a more general sense as promising a fair trial—not necessarily a trial in the court of the overlord.

Luckily for England, John died before there had been much fighting. When the fear of his tyranny was removed, there was a general desire to keep out the foreigner; and John's infant son, Henry, became king, with Gualo, representing the Pope, Archbishop Langton, and William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, as the real rulers. In the fighting with Louis, one of the first of England's naval victories was won in the Strait of Dover by the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. The Great Charter was issued again with a few changes, and before long Henry III was firmly settled on the throne.

BONDS STRENGTHENED BETWEEN ENGLISH AND NORMANS.—"Bad as he was, and by reason of his badness, John rendered two great services to England. He lost Normandy; and he gave birth to the Great Charter." (1) The loss of Normandy made the barons regard themselves altogether as Englishmen; it helped to make the people a single united nation. (2) The Charter could always be appealed to by all who were opposed to tyranny in future reigns: it was useful as a statement of the rights of Englishmen even against the king.

English and Normans were being fused into one people, and the self-respect of the English was returning. Books began to be written in English again about this time—religious handbooks for the use of monks and nuns, and popular stories and legends about the old days of King Arthur and the still earlier beginnings of Britain.

The University of Oxford received a charter from King John about 1200, and Cambridge obtained one from his son thirty years later.

WILLIAM THE LION.—William the Lion, who had become king of Scotland in 1165, ruled till 1214. His relations with John were concerned for the most part with the English king's designs on the very flourishing town of Berwick-on-Tweed. Besides defending Berwick, William took a great interest in promoting trade throughout Scot-

land ; and five towns, from Inverness in the north to Ayr in the south, received charters in his reign.

The Celts of Ross-shire, Moray, Argyle, Perth, and especially Galloway, repeatedly rebelled during the twelfth century ; and until the end of his reign William continued to be troubled, not only by the Celts but also by the Norwegians in the north of Scotland.

Alexander II, William's son and successor, as a holder of lands in England, took part with the barons in the struggle against John ; but, after the tyrant's death, the guardians of the boy-king, Henry III, came to an agreement with the Scots. Alexander married Henry's sister, and Alexander's sister married the English Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh.

13. TROUBLES IN ENGLAND: PEACEFUL PROGRESS IN SCOTLAND, 1214-86

Foreign Favourites.—There were three foreign parties in the court of Henry III which used their influence over the king for selfish ends, and not for the good of England. (1) One of these supported the power of the Pope, who had helped to preserve the throne for Henry. The Pope claimed the right to appoint Italians to the best-paid offices in the English Church, and these people drew the incomes, although many of them never came to England. (2) Another set of foreigners was headed by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, Henry's tutor, who induced the king to give good appointments to his fellow-countrymen from Poitou. (3) In the same way, Henry's Queen, Eleanor, a little later brought with her a greedy swarm of relatives and friends from Provence, in the south-east of France.

Henry's minority lasted till 1227, and for five years more the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, kept the government in great measure on the old lines.

The interest of Henry's reign lies mainly in the attempt of the barons to force the king to be guided by Englishmen, who would have the general good at heart.

SIMON MONTFORT.—The most unselfish and the most resolute of the barons, Simon Montfort, was himself the son of a foreign noble; but he had proved his right to the earldom of Leicester, he had married the king's sister, and he had become wholly devoted to the good of England, his adopted country.

In 1258 he joined with Richard Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and others in forcing upon the king at Oxford a new plan of government, which was known as "the Provisions of Oxford." A Council of fifteen barons was appointed to advise the king: twelve other barons were to form a committee to meet the Council three times a year, and help to amend the laws from the point of view of the people at large. A Proclamation ordering all men to obey the orders of the Council was issued, not only in Latin (the language of the lawyers), and in French (the language of the barons), but also in English, which, as we have seen, was again coming to be written for the use of the English people, including the descendants of many Normans who had married Englishwomen.

The barons, however, before long began to quarrel among themselves; the Pope released Henry from his oath to accept the barons' plan of government; and by 1261 matters had fallen back into the old state of slackness and self-seeking. Montfort felt he had no choice but to submit to misrule or to appeal to force. He went to war, and defeated and captured Henry and his son, Prince Edward, at Lewes in Sussex, in May 1264.

MONTFORT'S PARLIAMENT.—A year later Montfort called a meeting of the barons, two knights from each shire, and two burgesses from a number of the burghs which were favourable to him—the first time that all

the elements of the modern Parliament were brought together in a single body. Since the Domesday Inquiry, the Central Government had been in the habit of sending out commissioners to consult with representatives of all the local divisions of England—in the hundred and the shire courts—both about the raising of the taxes and about the punishment of criminals. Now Montfort commanded the local representatives to come together and meet in a central assembly, along with the feudal barons and bishops who were members of the Great Council.

But Montfort had many difficulties to contend with. (1) The Commons had not yet very much power; they were not wise enough to see the true value of Montfort's intended reforms, nor warlike enough to give a strong support to their champion. (2) The barons who had fought at first against the king were angry because they had no more control over the Government than before. (3) On the other hand, much sympathy was felt with the king, who was being kept under control by a presuming subject; and (4) charges of selfishness were made against Montfort, just as they have been made against most reformers who have accepted office or power.

Montfort's friends began to desert him. Henry's son, Prince Edward, escaped and raised an army. Montfort was caught at a great disadvantage at Evesham in Worcestershire, his forces were routed, and he himself was slain (August 1265).

In a year or two England became quite peaceful again: the old system of ruling which had been organised by Henry II was restored: and Edward, who had been helping his rather feeble father to govern since the battle of Evesham, was able to go to the Holy Land to take part in the last of the Crusades. He did not return to England till two years after his father's death, but no disturbance occurred during that time.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL AND PARLIAMENT.—(1) While taxation and money matters were attended to in the Exchequer, the *King's Court* continued to control the general government of the country. During the minority of Henry III it came to be known as the King's Council, and later as THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

(2) This must not be confused with the *Great Council*, the feudal assembly of the king's tenants, to which we have seen that Montfort added representatives from the shires and burghs. When Henry III's son, Edward, began to summon these representatives regularly, the Assembly became a national PARLIAMENT representing the different classes of the people.

SCOTLAND PROSPEROUS.—While England was struggling to control Henry III and his foreign favourites, Scotland was prospering under two good rulers, Alexander II and Alexander III. Alexander II had helped the English barons against John, because they promised him the northern counties, which the Scots kings had always wished to annex; but when Henry III came to the throne Scotland had once more to abandon the claim. Twenty years later Alexander and Henry agreed that the Scots king should receive certain lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, and should give up his claim to the whole of the counties.

Alexander's son of the same name was only eight years old when he became king in 1249, and he did not become the real ruler till thirteen years later. At the early age of ten, Alexander III was married at York to the daughter of Henry III of England.

When Alexander came of age, his first act was to demand the Hebrides from the Norwegian king, Haco. Haco replied by an attempt to invade Scotland: he sent a great fleet, which was, however, destroyed at Largs in Ayrshire, partly by storms and partly by the Scots (1263). Three years later Haco's successor ceded the islands to

Scotland for a sum of money and a promise to make a yearly payment ever after.

In 1278 Alexander attended the English Parliament at Westminster, and did homage to the new king, Edward, for the lands he held in England ; but he refused to admit that he owed homage for the kingdom of Scotland to any but God alone.

Alexander's children all died before him ; and when he was killed one dark night in March 1286, by his horse stumbling over the cliffs at Kinghorn in Fife, his only surviving descendant was Margaret, the three-year-old child of Alexander's daughter who had married King Eric of Norway.

Scotland was, in the thirteenth century, a prosperous and well-governed country. Trade was increasing, and the town of Berwick-on-Tweed had no superior in England or Scotland except London itself.

14. THE GREAT REFORMS OF EDWARD I, 1272-1307

Edward I's Model Parliament.—Henry II had done much to keep the Central Government in touch with the people, by sending out justices and commissioners to meet local representatives. Montfort had taken a further step in the same direction—by calling the local representatives to meet along with the barons in a central assembly. But Montfort's assembly of 1265 had met while England was divided into two parties, and had represented chiefly the people who were on his side ; thirty years later Edward I called a Parliament which more truly represented all England. Just as Edward had learned from Montfort at Lewes something about the management of an army, so he also adopted and improved upon his uncle's ideas as to the government of the country.

The form of assembly which Edward called together

in 1295 has been in the main the model for all Parliaments since then. Those who attended were—

(1) The great barons, bishops, and abbots.
From this time the descendants (always in the line of the eldest son) of all barons who have ever received such a summons from the king have had the right to sit as members of the Upper House of Parliament, "the House of Lords." The abbots disappeared when the monasteries were abolished 250 years later, but the bishops still attend.

(2) Two knights from each shire, and two citizens or burgesses from each city or burgh.
The "Knights of the Shire" came in place of the lesser tenants-in-chief, and were representatives of all the free men of the shire. The representatives of the shires and burghs formed the third of the "Three Estates of the Realm"—the Commons.

(3) Proctors or representatives of the lower clergy.
These soon ceased to attend. They preferred to hold meetings of their own, called Convocations—one for Canterbury and one for York—at which they not only managed the affairs of the Church, but also decided what taxes they should offer to the king.

Parliament did not at once take the form of two Houses. At first all sat together. In other countries it generally happened that there came to be three Houses, but England was more fortunate. The knights of the shire—who, as landholders, were of the same class as the great barons, but would have little weight if they sat along with them in the same House—preferred to cast in their lot with the townsfolk, the commercial class, whose wealth

was gradually making them very important, especially to a king who wanted money.

PARLIAMENT'S GROWING POWER.—Henry III had again and again confirmed the Great Charter, but little good had resulted. For one thing, the Pope was always against the Charter, and always ready to use his power as head of the Church to release the king from his promises to obey it. But, when Edward I confirmed the Charter in 1297, it had a deeper meaning. Taxes were not to be raised " unless by common counsel of our kingdom." The representatives of the people had therefore from this time the right to consent at least to certain kinds of taxes which the king and his advisers might propose to ask from them. They had " the power of the purse," the power to make bargains in exchange for the money they were asked to promise.

They made their power of much greater effect later by getting the kings to promise to raise no money at all without their consent. And in exchange for their money they got (1) the right to make laws, and (2) the right to see that the king's advisers were such as they approved. This was the work of centuries ; but the greatest step in the advance of British liberties was taken in the time of Edward I, when a national Parliament was set up which had the power to refuse supplies of money to the king until the people's grievances were redressed by the passing of new laws or by the dismissal of bad and unpopular ministers.

EDWARD AND THE CHURCH.—Edward always tried to prevent not only the barons but the Church also from becoming too powerful. (1) He defined the business which should be transacted in the Church courts, and did not allow them to deal with matters that ought to be settled by the King's courts.

(2) He forbade the granting without special permission of any more land to the Church, which was already very

wealthy. There were many dues which were exacted from feudal tenants, but from which Church lands were free. For instance, when the owner of an estate died, his heir had to pay a heavy fine before he could succeed to the estate. The Crown could never have such rights over Church lands, because the Church never died. Many people, therefore, had adopted the plan of giving land to the Church, and receiving it back to hold on easier terms as tenants of the Church. Land which fell into the hands, not of individuals but of a great body or corporation like the Church, was said to be in "mortmain";[1] and Edward's Act forbidding grants to the Church is called the Statute of Mortmain (1279).

(3) When the Pope forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the king in 1296, Edward declared that, if the churchmen did not pay, the law should not protect them; and they had to submit.

(4) At the very end of the reign a statute was passed at Carlisle forbidding the religious houses to send money abroad. It was Edward's idea that the Church in England should be English, and should be represented in the national Parliament. It should not be a branch of a foreign power; it should not pay tribute to the Pope or look to him as its sole head.

England's Interests in Gascony and Flanders.—Abroad, Edward had to take great care to guard against the designs of the French king on Gascony, which had been held by England since Henry II's reign. Edward sought also to keep on friendly terms with Flanders. England produced the best wool in Europe, but did not weave much at this time. The Flemings (the people of Flanders) were the great weavers of the day, and they were always anxious to have supplies of English wool. The two countries had thus good reasons for remaining on friendly terms. Gascony and England were similarly

[1] Two words French meaning "dead hand."

connected by the wine trade from the south of France to England.

EDWARD'S IDEA OF A UNITED BRITAIN: CONQUEST OF WALES.—In Great Britain itself, Edward tried to carry out his plan for uniting the whole island under one government. His first invasion of Wales was made in 1277, when the dominions of the Welsh prince, Llewellyn, were reduced to the island of Anglesea and the district about Snowdon. Fighting was renewed in 1282, when Llewellyn was killed, and his brother David was taken and condemned to death by one of the incomplete "parliaments" which Edward held in the early years of his reign. At Carnarvon Edward's son was born, the first heir to the English throne who bore the title Prince of Wales. Edward was successful in Wales; and he tried to win the goodwill of the people by encouraging trade and mining. In Scotland, as we shall see, Edward did not win a lasting success.

III. PERIOD OF HOSTILITY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

15. THE SCOTS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1286-1328

EDWARD'S PLANS FOR UNITING ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND: (*a*) BY MARRIAGE.—The Scots were not unfriendly to England in 1286, when Alexander III died. On the contrary they agreed, by the Treaty of Birgham,[1] 1290, that their infant Queen, the Maid of Norway, should marry the English Prince of Wales. Edward's first plan for a union of England and Scotland met with general approval. The kingdoms were developing on similar lines; both were made up of Norman and Englishman and Celt; and in both the Norman element was most

[1] Formerly Brigham—near Kelso.

powerful, and the English most industrious. But the marriage never took place, because the Maid died on her way from Norway to Scotland in 1290. The throne of Scotland was vacant, and there was no direct heir.

(*b*) By Overlordship.—The line of William the Lion being extinct, the descendants of his younger brother David were the claimants.

Several came forward, and of these the most important were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. Balliol was the grandson of David's eldest daughter, while Bruce was the son of his second daughter. Edward was asked to act as judge or arbiter, but he consented only on condition that the candidates should recognise him as overlord of Scotland. As he was already overlord of most of them for estates in England, they were afraid to refuse what he asked, and Edward was able to take an unfair advantage of their position.

In 1292 Edward decided, as anyone would decide to-day, that the best claim was that of John Balliol.

(*c*) By Conquest.—Balliol ruled Scotland for three years as Edward's vassal, and then Edward's plan again broke down. The English king had taken every opportunity of reminding Balliol that he was his vassal. The Scots resented Edward's interference greatly, and at last Balliol himself refused to obey, and made an alliance with Edward's enemy, the King of France. For more than 250 years after this, Scotland was hostile to England and friendly to France.

Edward came north and overran Scotland. He savagely sacked the prosperous town of Berwick-on-Tweed; Balliol had to surrender to his feudal lord the fief which he had lost through his disobedience. Edward also carried off to Westminster "the Stone of Destiny," which formed part of the throne on which the kings of Scotland were crowned. The stone has never been

brought back to Scotland; but there is a legend that, wherever the stone may be, the Scots will rule; and this came true when James VI of Scotland became King of England also in 1603.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.—Before he could organise the government of Scotland properly, Edward had to hasten away to defend Gascony against the King of France. The officials whom he left in charge in Scotland were not well chosen. They dealt harshly with the Scots; and they and their English soldiers became more and more detested by the people. The Scots found a leader in Sir William Wallace, a Strathclyde Briton who lived near where the town of Paisley now stands. Wallace defeated the English governor, John Warenne, Earl of Surrey, at Stirling Bridge in 1297; but the next year Edward himself returned, and by the skill of his yeoman archers won the battle of Falkirk.

After this, Wallace went to France and to Rome to ask help for the Scots, but in 1302 and 1303 both of these failed him. He then returned and carried on the war against the English as well as he could; but he had few followers, for the nobles were jealous of him and did not support him. In 1305 he was betrayed to the English, and executed.

Meanwhile Edward had held a meeting at Perth, in which ten Scots and twenty Englishmen drew up a plan of government. The number of sheriffs and of justices was increased, and Edward's nephew, John of Brittany, was made governor. But by this time the Scots had many grievances against the English, and wished to put an end to Edward's control of their affairs.

ROBERT THE BRUCE.—No one was anxious to have Balliol back again: and the next candidates for leadership in Scotland were (1) Robert Bruce, the grandson of the claimant of 1290, and (2) John Comyn of Badenoch, "the Red Comyn," whom the Scots had chosen as regent.

Comyn was Balliol's nephew, and, according to the decision of Norham, he was really the nearest heir after Balliol and his descendants.

Comyn made peace with Edward in 1303; and, when Bruce succeeded to his father's estates and the earldom of Carrick in 1304, he tried to come to an arrangement with Comyn about their claims for the crown. In the beginning of 1306 they met at Dumfries and quarrelled violently. Comyn was wounded by Bruce and killed by his followers.

This act left Bruce no choice as to his future line of action. He got himself crowned at Scone, but was twice defeated in Perthshire, first by the Earl of Pembroke, whom Edward had sent to Scotland, and then by Comyn's uncle, the Lord of Lorn. For the winter Bruce withdrew from the mainland of Scotland to an island off the coast of Ireland, not far from his own lands in Ayrshire. In the spring of 1307 he returned and gained some small successes; but what helped his cause most of all was the death of Edward I near Carlisle in July.

With the aid of "the good Sir James" Douglas and other knights, Bruce steadily gained ground; and in 1310 he was recognised by the Scots Church as the lawful king.

Scotland's Independence Secured. — In 1313 Stirling Castle was the only great stronghold remaining in the hands of the English, and it was closely besieged by the Scots. The governor of the castle made a bargain that, if he were not relieved by 24th June 1314, he would surrender the castle.

It was on that very day that Edward's army joined battle with the Scots near Stirling, on ground that had been carefully chosen and prepared by Bruce. The result was a great disaster for the English; the freedom of Scotland, which will ever be associated with the name of this battle, Bannockburn, was then established, and

though often threatened in later times was never lost.[1] Edward fled to Dunbar without dismounting, and from Dunbar to England by sea.

Bruce followed up his victory by recovering Berwick-on-Tweed and making several plundering raids into the north of England. Edward was hopelessly crippled throughout his reign by quarrels with his nobles. A truce was made with Scotland in 1323, and a treaty of peace arranged at Northampton in 1328, after the death of Edward II.

FIRST SCOTS PARLIAMENT.—In 1326 Bruce summoned what is regarded as the first Scots Parliament. In reality it was a feudal assembly of the king's tenants, like the Great Council in England. Besides the Lords Spiritual (the bishops and abbots) and the Lords Temporal (the great barons), there attended members who represented those towns which held their lands and privileges directly from the king, and which were thus also really feudal tenants-in-chief. These towns were known as the Royal Burghs. The strength of the feudal barons in Scotland was increased by the large grants of land with which Bruce had to reward his supporters, whereas in England Edward I had been doing all he could to lessen the power of the barons.

TROUBLES IN ENGLAND.—The reign of Edward II in England, which gave Scotland the opportunity to regain its independence, lasted for twenty years, during which time there was constant bickering between the king and the barons. Even his queen, Isabella of France, conspired against him. At last he was deposed, and imprisoned in Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, where he was murdered.

[1] Bruce's brother, Edward, was invited to deliver Ireland also from the English. He was crowned King of Ireland in 1316, but though he achieved some success, he was at last defeated and slain at Dundalk in 1318.

His son, Edward III, was made King, but as he was only fifteen years of age, the government for three years was carried on by the queen and a council of barons. Edward began to reign in person in 1330.

16. EDWARD III: RISE OF THE COMMONS, 1327-77

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.—It is from Edward III's time (1327-77) that it is usual to date the "Hundred Years' War" with France; but the war was not continuous, and there had been wars for the same purpose before the reign of Edward III. The chief object of the French was to drive the English out of Gascony and to secure national unity in France. One of Edward's objects was to prevent France from exercising control over Flanders, which was as important to England for the wool trade as Gascony was for the wine trade.

When Robert Bruce died in 1329, his son and heir, David II, was only five years old. Edward, the son of John Balliol, asked the English Edward to help to make him king of Scotland instead of David Bruce. Edward III did help him, won the battle of Halidon Hill near Berwick in 1333, and placed Balliol on the throne; but he had to leave him to stay there if he could. The Hundred Years' War began in 1337, and the attention of England was turned from Scotland to France. After Edward III withdrew his support, Balliol was unable to maintain his position; and so David Bruce, who had been sent to France in 1334, returned to Scotland in 1341.

Edward was not content to remain on the defensive in Gascony; he put forward a claim to the French crown through his mother, the bad Queen Isabella, who was the sister of the previous three kings of France. It was decided by the French lawyers, however, that a woman could neither succeed to the throne herself nor pass on a

claim to her son. They accordingly chose as king the descendant (in the male line) of a younger branch of the royal family, Philip of Valois.

(1) Until the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360 the English were successful—at Sluys (a naval battle) in 1340, at Creçy in 1346, and at Poitiers in 1356. The most important fruit of these victories was the capture of the town of Calais (commanding the Strait of Dover), which was taken in 1347.

(2) When the war was renewed in 1369, Spanish fleets helped France to keep the command of the sea; and "the Black Prince," Edward's eldest son, who had been the best of the English leaders, fell ill. In 1373 the English, being unable to transport an army safely to Gascony by sea, had to march right across France from Calais to Bordeaux, and many of the soldiers died on the way from hunger and cold. The French gradually won back all Gascony, except the seaports of Bayonne and Bordeaux. In the north Calais also remained English, so that Edward left to his successors little French territory beyond three landing-places which would always tempt them to try to regain the whole.

LIVERY AND MAINTENANCE.—The English king raised soldiers for his wars by bargaining with leaders to bring a certain number of men. These followers came to be attached to their commander even in time of peace, and could be used by him to bully his enemies; they were known as "retainers." The retainers wore a "livery" to show whose servants they were; and if their master was known to be a powerful baron, people were generally afraid to oppose them in any way. When any complaint was made against the conduct of the retainers, their lord would appear in court with as strong a force as he could muster to "maintain" their quarrel. This was known as "maintenance," and the keeping of such followers was called "*livery and maintenance*." It

became a very serious evil in England in the fifteenth century when the French wars were over.

GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT: CONTROL OF THE CHURCH.—Edward had to meet Parliament year after year in order to obtain votes of money for his wars and other expenses, and Parliament took advantage of its opportunities to increase its own power.

At the end of the reign, a new process for making the king's advisers responsible to Parliament was devised. This was a mode of trial in which the House of Commons were the accusers and the House of Lords the judges. It was known as Impeachment, and was first used by "the Good Parliament" of 1376 against William, Lord Latimer and Richard Lyons, both of whom were condemned to lose their goods and be imprisoned for using their position at the Court to make money for themselves dishonestly.

Two famous Acts were passed to restrict the authority of the Church, whose head, the Pope, was now resident at Avignon and under the control of England's enemy, the King of France. (1) The Statute of Provisors declared that the Pope should not make appointments to bishoprics or livings in England; (2) the Statute of Præmunire forbade the carrying of appeals from English courts to any foreign court.

There was strong feeling in England, too, against appointing churchmen to posts of power in the government of the country. The most famous of these clerical statesmen was William of Wykeham, who was Bishop of Winchester for thirty-seven years, and twice Chancellor of England, and who founded Winchester College and New College, Oxford.

It became usual about this time to have trials for small offences heard by Justices of the Peace, chosen from the gentry of the neighbourhood. This was better than the court of the feudal lord, as there was a greater chance of fair-play.

THE BLACK DEATH AND THE LABOURERS.—About 1349 more than a third of the population of England was destroyed by a plague known as "The Black Death." This had very important results. There were not enough men left to cultivate the fields. In some places the crops could not be reaped, and many villages were almost without craftsmen to make or repair tools. Everything became scarce and dear. As it was difficult to obtain labourers, landowners had to pay high wages to get anyone to plough their fields or reap their crops.

PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY: RISE OF ENGLISH YEOMAN.—The strength of the feudal lords lay in their cavalry and their castles. They were supposed to give other people protection in return for services. But at this time two new weapons began to be used which caused the cavalry and the castles to fall out of date. (*a*) The victories of Edward I and Edward III were won not so much by the mounted nobles as by the "yeomen," who fought on foot and used the long bow as their weapon. These archers were so successful in war that they won the respect even of the barons; and the victories in which they shared helped to bring the classes closer together, and to make all alike proud of being English. (*b*) The castles were made less secure by the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which began to be used at this time.

The Age of Chivalry was really passing away, but some of its forms were still kept up. Tournaments were still very popular, and gave the knights a chance of winning fame in mimic warfare. The spirit of the barons of the age is best represented in a history written by a Frenchman, John Froissart. The condition of the people is also recorded for us in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and William Langland. There was still no printing; but the great reformer, John Wycliffe, was able to make his tracts and his translation of the New Testament

into English widely known by sending out his "poor preachers."

A WEAK KING IN SCOTLAND.—The reign of David II is not one which Scotsmen can regard with pride. David Bruce was as great a contrast to his father as was Edward II to Edward I of England. To begin with, David was supplanted by Edward Balliol, and for a few years he was brought up in France. When David came home again in 1341, he was only a youth of seventeen. In 1346 he invaded England, but was captured at Durham (the battle of Neville's Cross), and spent the next eleven years as a prisoner in England.

Edward III tried to make a bargain with Edward Balliol to put him on the throne instead of David Bruce: but the Scots would have none of it. Edward therefore raided the south of Scotland with terrible severity—"the Burnt Candlemas"; and then, in 1357, restored David on condition of receiving a ransom of 100,000 marks.

The Scots Parliament increased its powers over money matters in David's time; and two committees were appointed—the Committee of Causes, to try cases under the existing laws; and the Lords of the Articles, to draw up new laws. The Parliament met only to approve the work done by the committees.

For centuries the most fertile part of Scotland, the south, was prevented by English raids from becoming a quiet, prosperous farming country. The north of England, although not the most fertile part, also suffered from the frequent Border raids.

17. REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND: CAPTIVITY OF THE SCOTS KING, 1377-1413

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT.—When Edward III died, he was succeeded by his grandson, Richard (son of the Black Prince, who had died the previous year), a boy only eleven years old.

In 1380 a tax of a shilling a head, called a poll-tax, was imposed on every one over fifteen years of age. But a shilling in those days would buy as much as forty shillings would to-day, and so a poor man with a wife and three daughters over fifteen would be called upon to pay a sum equal to about £10 of our money. People tried to avoid paying the tax by making false returns, and commissioners were sent out to inquire into the true state of matters.

Great discontent already existed among the villeins in the country and among the journeymen in the towns, because of the low rate of wages paid and the attempt of those who were more fortunate to keep them from improving their lot. Wycliffe had not yet sent out his "poor preachers," but a parson named John Ball had caused great unrest by preaching that all men were equal, and by trying to show that the rulers of the State and of the Church were selfish and unjust.

In June 1381 there were risings in the east and south-east of England. The mobs marched to London, and were admitted into the town by the people. They had already committed many acts of violence on the way, and in London they burned several houses, including the Savoy Palace, which belonged to John of Lancaster,[1] the king's uncle.

[1] Sometimes called "John of Gaunt," because he was born at Ghent (in 1340).

Richard himself agreed to meet the peasants, and he promised to pardon them and to redress their grievances —in particular to free the villeins. But some of the people could not be prevented from burning and plundering. The riots became worse and worse; the mob captured the Tower of London, which was not properly defended, and beheaded the Treasurer, Sir Robert Hales, and the Chancellor, Simon Sudbury, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury.

Richard had to face the rioters again—at Smithfield, north of the city; and this time their leader, Wat Tyler, lost his temper, and tried to attack one of the king's party with a dagger. Tyler was struck down by the Lord Mayor of London, and there was danger of the fight becoming general. Richard himself, a boy of fifteen, saved the situation. He boldly cried to the mob that he would be their leader; and, after he had renewed his promise to pardon them and abolish villeinage or serfdom, the crowds dispersed. But the promises were not kept. The king had acted on a sudden impulse, and he had gone further than he had a right to go without consulting Parliament. When the danger was over, Parliament declared that the king's promises were of no effect; and it refused to set free the serfs.

On the whole, however, the landlords found in the end that it was useless to try to continue the old system without any change; they found that it would pay them better to receive rents in money, and that it was impossible to force people to work by Acts of Parliament. It was not the Peasants' Revolt, but the shortage of labour after the Black Death, which caused villeinage to die out more rapidly after the middle of the fourteenth century.

"Absolute Monarchy."—In 1398, Richard induced a Parliament which met at Shrewsbury to vote him a fixed income, and to appoint a committee of the king's friends, who were to have all the authority of Parliament. Under

such conditions Richard could do exactly as he liked in England without any check—that is, he became what is called an "Absolute Monarch." But he did not reign wisely, and the people began to feel that all their liberties were in danger.

When the king's uncle, John of Lancaster, died in 1399, his son Henry, who had been banished for rebellion, was refused his father's estates by the king, although Richard had promised to restore them to him. Henry, however, came over to England to see to his interests, and found the people so discontented with Richard that he attempted not only to get the Lancaster estates, but to depose his cousin for his misrule and to take the crown himself.

Richard had gone to Ireland, and unfavourable winds kept him there while Henry's forces were growing stronger. When Richard at last landed in Wales, he could find no supporters, and he gave himself up at Flint. Parliament met in September and deposed him "on account of his perjuries, cruelties, and many other crimes"; it then chose Henry as king. Richard died not long after in Pontefract Castle, and it is probable that he was murdered.

CONSTITUTIONAL OR LIMITED MONARCHY.—Henry IV owed his crown to his election by Parliament, and he gave way to Parliament in many things during his reign.

A government in which the ruler is controlled by an assembly representing the people is what we call a "Constitutional Government." The king does not do simply as he thinks fit, but must consider the wishes of his people as expressed by their representatives. Such a monarchy is not "absolute" but "limited." The rule of Henry IV was of this nature, because the king had been elected by Parliament, and relied on Parliament to support him.

Henry also owed much to the help of the Church, and he repaid this debt by having an Act passed for the burning of heretics—that is, of those who thought otherwise

than as the Church directed. Wycliffe had preached that all authority should be based on righteousness, and had shown that the authority of the Pope had not always such a foundation. His followers (who were called " Lollards ") continued to point out abuses in the Church : they were reformers before the days of Protestantism.

In spite of his concessions to Parliament and to the Church, Henry had to meet at least three rebellions. In these the most notable leaders were Henry Percy, known as " Hotspur," who was slain in 1403 ; his father, the Earl of Northumberland, who was killed in 1408 ; and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, who was beheaded in 1405. The Percies of Northumberland had helped Henry in 1399, but they were disappointed with their reward, and their quarrel with the king began with claims against him for money said to be due to them. Before he died in 1413, Henry had made his position secure, and his son succeeded to the throne quite peacefully as Henry V.

First Stewart Kings in Scotland : Robert II. —During this period Scotland was even more disturbed than England. David II was succeeded by Robert FitzAlan, the Steward of Scotland, the son of David's sister, Marjory Bruce. The male line of the House of Bruce thus died out in the second generation. The royal family that succeeded them have always been known as the Stewarts, not as the FitzAlans.

Robert II and Robert III were far from being brilliant rulers. Each was over fifty years of age when he came to the throne, and neither was a strong man. The powerful nobles had been accustomed to the absence of the king in David II's reign, and they paid little regard to his successors' wishes. In 1384 a raid into England was arranged by the nobles against the king's wish, in order to provide sport for a party of French knights who had come to Scotland. The English naturally made a raid in return, and then the French Admiral, John de

Vienne, was sent with a considerable army to aid the Scots.

The Scots of the Border country knew that they must always be prepared for raids by the English. So they never built very substantial villages, but only huts which could be replaced quickly whenever they were destroyed by an enemy. When a large English army invaded Scotland, the Borderers made off to the hills or woods with all they valued most, and left the English to weary themselves by marching through a deserted country where they could find no food for either men or horses. The Scots could pounce upon stragglers and foraging parties; but they saw nothing to be gained by trying to face the English knights and archers in a pitched battle.

In spite of the presence of the French, the English laid waste the lowlands of Scotland with terrible severity, burning Melrose Abbey and the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee.

In 1388 a party of Scots raiders retiring with their booty was caught up at Otterburn, twenty miles on the English side of the Border, by Henry Percy (the "Hotspur" who was later killed at Shrewsbury). The battle of Otterburn is supposed to be described in the ballad of "Chevy Chase."

ROBERT III.—The reign of Robert III,[1] who succeeded his father in 1390, was largely occupied with quarrels between members of the royal family. The king's brother, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, behaved in utterly lawless fashion, and kept the north-east of Scotland in terror from Forfarshire to Elgin: he burned Elgin Cathedral, and won for himself the nickname "The Wolf of Badenoch." More important than Alexander was another brother of the king, Robert, who was made Duke

[1] His real name was John, but he called himself Robert "for luck," because of the failure of John of England, John Balliol in Scotland, and John of France.

of Albany. Albany quarrelled with the king's son and heir, David, Duke of Rothesay, took him prisoner, and shut him up in Falkland Tower in Fifeshire, where he died shortly afterwards.

Raids were still going on in the Border country, the Percies being the most famous English leaders, and the Douglases on the side of Scotland. The most important battle was at Homildon or Humbleton Hill, near Wooler in Northumberland. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was there taken prisoner; the next year he fought along with his captor, Percy, against Henry IV at Shrewsbury, and was again on the losing side and again made prisoner.

In 1406 England had a more notable success, for Prince James, the heir to the Scots throne, then a boy of twelve, was captured off Flamborough Head when on his way to the French court. His father died a few weeks later, and his uncle, the Duke of Albany, who was about seventy years old, became regent.

Albany's Successful Rule.—Albany ruled for fourteen years, more strongly than any king of Scotland since the War of Independence. He held so much land that he was able to live on his own revenues, without levying taxes. Although there were still raids on both sides, he kept on fairly good terms with England; and, like Henry IV, he cultivated the friendship and support of the Church by burning at least one "heretic." In his time St Andrews University was founded, the first university in Scotland (1414).

In 1411 the Gaelic people of the Highlands made their last real attempt to win back the mastery over the whole country, under the leadership of a chief who called himself the Lord of the Isles. He was completely defeated by the Earl of Mar, son of the "Wolf of Badenoch," at Harlaw, eighteen miles north of Aberdeen—a very important victory for the unity and prosperity of Scotland.

Following up this victory, the Regent Albany pursued the Highlanders into Ross-shire, and there received the submission of the Lord of the Isles.

18. FALL OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER, 1413-65

SUCCESSES IN FRANCE.—Henry V. is one of the most brilliant and most popular of the kings of England. Yet his greatest feats were performed in a foreign war, by which England made no permanent gains, and which had disastrous results in many ways. Henry claimed the crown of France and three times invaded that country.

(1) In 1415 he took Harfleur, which was useful as a base of operations, and won the great battle of Agincourt, which only secured for him a safe retreat to England.

(2) Between 1417 and 1419 he conquered Normandy. The party of the Duke of Burgundy was at feud with that of the Duke of Orleans. In 1419 the Orleanists pretended to be willing to end the quarrel, and a meeting between Burgundy and the Dauphin,[1] who was under control of the Orleanists, was arranged to take place on a bridge at Montereau, near Paris. There Burgundy was treacherously murdered. After this, his son Philip was ready to offer the English any terms they wished, in order to keep the Dauphin from becoming King of France. He agreed to accept Henry as regent for the mad king, Charles VI, to give him the king's daughter as his wife, and promised that, if Henry had a son, that son should succeed to the throne of France instead of the Dauphin

[1] "The Dauphin" was the title of the eldest son of the King of France, just as the eldest son of the English king is always called the Prince of Wales. The name comes from the "dolphins" in the family crest of the rulers of Dauphiné, a province in the south-east, which was handed over to the French king for his son in 1349.

(Treaty of Troyes, 1420). In the autumn, Henry made a triumphal entry into Paris with his bride.

But the Dauphin and the party of the Duke of Orleans naturally did not accept the arrangement, and there was more fighting. A very prominent part was taken on the French side by a Scots force commanded by the Earl of Douglas, who had been captured at Homildon and at Shrewsbury. In 1421 Henry's brother, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was defeated and killed at Beaugé. This led to Henry's third expedition.

(3) Henry drove back the Dauphin's party to the south of the Loire; but, like the Black Prince, he won his victories at the cost of his own health. He died in 1422, leaving to his infant son, only eight months old, the crowns of England and of France.

The interest of Henry's reign at home centres in the Church. Henry was a good churchman, and he showed himself hostile to the Reformers or Lollards. One of their leaders, Sir John Oldcastle, escaped from prison, and attempted to gather forces at Charing Cross in order to attack the king at Westminster (1414). But Henry was warned of the plot; the rebels were at once dispersed, and thirty-seven of them were executed. Oldcastle himself was captured and hanged in 1417.

English Losses in France.—During the minority of the infant Henry VI, Henry V's work was continued by his two brothers. The Duke of Bedford was Regent in France, and the Duke of Gloucester was the most important member of the Council of Regency in England.

Bedford was a very able man and a good soldier. He defeated the French and Scots at Verneuil, where the Earl of Douglas was slain. The turning-point in the war was the raising of the siege of Orleans in 1429 by a peasant girl of sixteen, Joan of Arc, who believed, and made others believe, that she was inspired by voices from heaven. She had the Dauphin crowned at Rheims a few weeks

later, but her success did not endure. The next year she was captured by the Burgundians, who handed her over to the English for a money payment: and in 1431 she was burned as a witch.

Almost all the judges who condemned her were French; and none of her own party made the least effort to save her. Yet the English must accept the blame for what was done by their authority. Joan has quite recently been recognised by the Roman Catholic Church as a saint.

In 1435 the English were deserted by their ally, Philip of Burgundy, and they also lost their own leader, the Duke of Bedford, whose death left the House of Lancaster without any able leader. Richard, Duke of York, maintained the English hold on Normandy for ten years. In 1444 Henry made a truce, gave up Maine to France, and married the Princess Margaret of Anjou.

The English very foolishly went to war again in 1449, and, after the crushing defeat of Formigny in April 1450, they were driven out of Normandy. Of their possessions in the north of France Calais alone was left.

The French continued their successes, and in 1453, after the battle of Castillon, the English were at last expelled from Gascony, which they had held for three hundred years—that is from the time of Henry II.

Disorders in England.—Henry VI himself was a good but a very feeble man and most unfitted to be king in troubled times, although he is to be remembered favourably for his services to education in founding Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. The King's Council, which should have come to the rescue when the king himself was not a strong man, was distracted by the feuds of the nobles. Throughout the country powerful barons engaged in selfish quarrels and were able to defy the law by the help of the "retainers" whom they had enlisted for service in the French wars.

In the summer of 1450, after the disaster of Formigny in April, the people could stand the misrule no longer. A Kentish mob, under an adventurer called Jack Cade, marched on London, murdered the Treasurer, Lord Say, fell to plundering, and was then beaten out of the town. The proceedings of Cade's rioters were very like those of Wat Tyler and his followers in 1381, although their object had nothing to do with villeinage, but only with the weakness of the government, which could neither hold England's possessions in France nor keep order at home.

The result, too, was the same as in 1381 : the rebels dispersed on promise of pardon being given ; but an excuse was found for breaking the promise and hanging many of the rioters. Richard of York, who was the lawful heir to the throne, returned from Ireland to lead the opposition in its demand for stronger and better government.

RICHARD OF YORK : WARS OF THE ROSES.—In 1453, the year of the loss of Gascony, two domestic events of some importance took place :—

(*a*) Henry had the first of the fits of insanity which visited him repeatedly from this time. During these fits a regent was required, but only so long as the fits lasted. Thus Parliament could appoint Richard of York to govern while Henry was insane ; but, as soon as Henry was well again, Richard would be dismissed. This was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs ; for neither Richard nor Henry's friends could feel any security against an attack by the other side, which might condemn them as traitors.

(*b*) A son was born to Henry. This meant that the House of Lancaster was not going to die out, and that Richard of York could no longer expect to succeed peacefully to the throne on the death of Henry. When he began to feel that he might never have the right, as king, to

remedy the abuses existing in England, Richard became more eager to suppress the evils as Henry's minister. But he was not allowed to do this.

At last in 1455 Richard raised an army, and the Wars of the Roses began. For the next five years Richard was simply a rebel, although a rebel in the cause of better government. In October 1460 Richard asserted that the Mortimer claim to the throne was better than that of the House of Lancaster, and declared himself the true King of England. In December of the same year he was defeated and killed at Wakefield. His son, Edward, who became head of the House of York, was then eighteen years old.

Richard of York had married a lady of the very powerful family of Neville, which held the earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury. The Nevilles therefore belonged to his side, and their enemies, the Percies, were Lancastrians. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, with the aid of young Edward of York, inflicted a crushing defeat on Henry's army at Towton in Yorkshire. Earlier in the same month (March 1461) Edward had been proclaimed king: he now became king in actual fact. Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou, continued to hold out in Northumberland for some time; but by 1465 she had fled to France, and Henry was a prisoner in the Tower.

There was fighting at intervals for thirty years, and the whole struggle is known as "The Wars of the Roses," because the badge of the Yorks was a white rose and that of the Lancasters a red rose. These family squabbles of the Royal House and of the barons make the political history of England in the fifteenth century a pitiful record.

19. CROWN AND BARONS IN SCOTLAND, 1420-60

Reforms of James I.—When the Scots Regent died in 1420, he was succeeded by his son, Murdoch Stewart, Duke of Albany. In his time the Scots rendered great help to the French against the English at Beaugé and elsewhere. James of Scotland was still a prisoner in England, and Henry VI's guardians thought that friendly relations could be secured with the Scots if they freed James from the captivity in which he had been kept for eighteen years. They not only released him but gave him an English queen, Lady Jane Beaufort, and he returned to Scotland in 1424.

James found that he had two great difficulties to face in Scotland—(1) The Crown was no richer in land than many of the barons, and he could not afford to do without taxation as Albany had done. (2) These powerful barons had enjoyed feudal liberties for a century without ever feeling the restraining hand of a strong king. The barons may have played a useful part in defending the Borders, but their raids often led to invasions by the English, which laid waste much of the Lowlands and prevented peaceful progress. And, further, they exacted very heavy payment for their services and distressed the people greatly by abusing their power and making war upon each other.

James found that he had to be very masterful and sometimes merciless in order to secure any respect for his authority. In 1425 the Regent Albany, his two sons, and his father-in-law were beheaded at Stirling. In 1427 a number of Highland chiefs were executed at Inverness, and, when a rebellion followed, it was easily put down.

In 1428 James tried to introduce reforms in the Scots Parliament which would make it more like that of

England, but he did not succeed. More useful was his foundation of a law court known as "The Session," and his introduction of the practice of publishing the laws in the language of the people—that is, Scots, which is really a northern dialect of English. He passed many laws to protect and encourage orderly trade and husbandry, but it was still very difficult to have the laws carried out.

James was not only a statesman, he was also a man of letters. At the English Court James had been familiar with the works of Chaucer, and he himself was the most successful of the writers who copied the style of Chaucer in the early part of the fifteenth century.

In 1437 James was murdered at Perth by Sir Robert Graham and others, whom he had offended by his stern measures. He had probably gone beyond what was really just, but the end he had set before him was a good strong government for Scotland, and it could not at that time be secured by gentle methods. James paid the penalty of his excess of zeal; but, after all has been said against him that can be said, he remains by far the most kingly and enlightened figure that we have met in the history of Scotland since Robert Bruce.

JAMES II AND THE DOUGLASES.—His son, James II, was only six years old when he succeeded to the throne. The barons were able to assume privileges and powers during the long minority, which it was almost impossible for the king to take away during the short period of his personal rule.

The men into whose hands power fell during James II's minority were Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton, who had obtained possession of the king's person.

In 1449 James married Mary, the niece of Philip, Duke of Burgundy. Being now eighteen years old, he set about trying to make himself master of his own kingdom. He first attacked the Livingstone family, and had Sir Alexander and his sons put to death.

James then entered upon a conflict with the House of Douglas. But James's methods were in one instance still less creditable than those of his father had been. In 1452 he invited Douglas to Stirling Castle, and promised that no harm should come to him; but, when the Earl refused to break off his alliance with other Scots nobles, James stabbed him and his courtiers killed him. The king then raided the Douglas country. The overmighty power of the Douglases was destroyed, their castles were taken, their leaders slain in battle, executed, or exiled, and their estates forfeited to the Crown.

CONDITIONS IN SCOTLAND.—The House of York helped the Douglases, because the Scots king was friendly to Henry VI; and, whenever the Yorkists were in authority in England there was fighting upon the Borders. James was fairly successful, until 1460, when, in trying to recover Roxburgh Castle from the English, he was killed by the bursting of a cannon.

Border raids were less serious and less successful on the part of the English during the period of the Wars of the Roses; and, in spite of the quarrels of the Scots barons, the country as a whole did not suffer as much as France did in the Hundred Years' War, or as England did in the Wars of the Roses. The people were fairly well off compared with those of other lands; they were not cruelly oppressed by the nobles, as were the peasants of France; and, if their fare was rough and homely, there were few who suffered from want of food.

20. OVERTHROW OF RICHARD III AND OF JAMES III, 1460-88

WARWICK THE KINGMAKER.—The reign of Edward IV of England is broken into two parts by the restoration of Henry VI for six months in 1470-71. This brief success of the Lancasters was due to Edward's quarrel

with his powerful supporter, the Earl of Warwick. Warwick desired an alliance with France, and planned a marriage for Edward with a French princess. Edward wished to be free from any control by Warwick, and he took three steps to show his intention of having his own way. (1) He married the widow of a Lancastrian noble, Elizabeth Woodville. (2) He wedded his own sister to the greatest enemy of the French king, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. (3) The king then gave titles to his queen's relatives, and so built up a party of nobles devoted to himself.

Warwick, on his part, defied Edward. (1) He married his daughter, Isabel Neville, to the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, in spite of the fact that Edward forbade the match. In 1470 Edward drove Warwick out of England, and he took refuge in France. (2) Warwick next betrothed another of his daughters, Anne Neville, to Edward, the son of Henry VI—the heir of the Lancasters. This surprising step was due to the policy of Louis XI of France, who brought about a reconciliation between Warwick and Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou, in order to keep England distracted by civil war.

When Warwick landed in England in the autumn of 1470, a number of the king's troops deserted, and Edward fled to Burgundy. He got help from the Duke, and returned to England in the spring to find that his enemies were by no means united. He was able to fight and beat them separately—Warwick at Barnet, a few miles north of London (Clarence having treacherously deserted Warwick and joined his brother); and Margaret and the Lancastrian party at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire. Warwick and Prince Edward of Lancaster were slain. Soon after, Henry VI was murdered in the Tower; while the queen, Margaret of Anjou, was ransomed by Louis XI and brought back to France. Some years later, Clarence too was sent to the Tower and there put to death.

CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND.—When all his enemies were thus removed, Edward became king indeed. Many of the noble families had become extinct and the estates of others had been forfeited—all to the advantage of the Crown. Edward raised money and troops without the consent of Parliament. Parliament, in fact, seldom met; and no good laws were made to cope with the abuses of "livery and maintenance."

Many men had learned in the recent wars habits of plundering and disorder. As more land was used for pasturing sheep to grow wool for the merchants, many tenant farmers and farm labourers lost their occupation, and became vagrants and beggars. On the other hand, Englishmen were beginning, by the time of Edward IV, to manufacture their own wool at home, and to build English ships for English trade instead of employing Dutch, Germans, and Italians. Edward encouraged the merchants, because he hoped to raise money from them by customs duties.

The first printing-press in England was set up at Westminster about 1475, by William Caxton; and about the same time the first great book in English prose was written by Sir Thomas Malory—a collection of the old tales about the British king, Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table—legends which had been growing up in Celtic lands for a thousand years, ever since the coming of the English.

RICHARD THE USURPER.—Edward IV died in 1483, leaving five daughters and two sons, Edward and Richard, the elder twelve years old. But the throne was coveted by Edward IV's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. He had a strong force of armed men with whom he overawed all who opposed him. He played off one party against another, and managed to get himself proclaimed king. Then he cleared the field of his likeliest rivals by murdering his two nephews, "the Princes in the Tower."

Richard had been allowed to become king, because it was believed that he would rule well; but the murder of the princes at once provoked a rising against him. Richard, however, did all he could to win the favour of the people by ruling well and in accordance with the wishes of Parliament. In 1484 he allowed Parliament to condemn the taking of "benevolences"—that is, a practice which some kings had adopted of begging their wealthy subjects for gifts, instead of asking Parliament to vote supplies. The money which Parliament gave him he expended wisely. He made an effort to maintain better order, and to see that justice was done fairly: he attended to his fleet, and tried to win the friendship of Scotland and of the Pope.

But all the time preparations were being made for an invasion and a rising, in order to put on the throne Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who, through his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, represented the descendants of John of Lancaster. Henry landed in Wales early in August 1485, and a fortnight later Richard was defeated and slain at Bosworth in Leicestershire. This accession of Henry VII, the first king of the House of Tudor, is the best turning-point which we can find in English history to mark the close of the Middle Age.

JAMES III AND HIS BARONS.—James III of Scotland was not nine years old when he succeeded to the throne in 1460. During the first years of his minority the real ruler of Scotland was James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, a nephew of James I.

James married Margaret, the daughter of Christian, King of Denmark; and, by the marriage treaty, arrangements were made which gave the Orkney and Shetland Islands to Scotland. The Lord of the Isles, who had caused some trouble, was crushed, his earldom of Ross taken from him, and his estates annexed to the Crown.

So far James had been very successful; but from this

time things went badly with him. He seems to have had a liking for artists and craftsmen of humble birth, and this made the nobles extremely jealous. The barons, as usual, were able to find members of the royal family to head the opposition to the king. The first of these were the king's brothers, Alexander, Duke of Albany, and John, Earl of Mar. In 1479, when James saw what was happening, he struck the first blow by imprisoning his brothers. Mar died in Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh; Albany escaped to France.

In 1480 the French king succeeded in inducing the Scots once more to go to war with England. The next year an English fleet attacked the shores of the Firth of Forth. Edward IV also received James's brother, Albany, at his court, and planned to put him on the throne of Scotland as a vassal of England. James marched south to Lauder, in Berwickshire, to meet the invaders, but he took his favourites with him. The nobles demanded that they should be given up; and, when the king refused, they seized and hanged them. In view of the disunion on the Scots side, it is not surprising that the English retook Berwick-on-Tweed in 1482, and forced James to restore Albany to his estates and offices.

On the death of Edward IV, James declared Albany an outlaw and took possession of his lands. Albany was killed later in a tournament in France.

The way seemed clear for James once more; but, partly by his liking for favourites who did not belong to the noble class, and partly by his disregard for the claims of other people when there was a chance of adding to the estates and power of the Crown, he again aroused a very strong opposition. His enemies got James's son and heir into their hands, and they made him their leader. In 1488 James was defeated by the rebels at Sauchie, near Bannockburn, and was murdered after the battle.

In spite of James's troubles, Parliament met regularly

during his reign. Scots literature, of which James I had been one of the pioneers, was carried on by a number of poets. "Blind Harry" wrote a poem on Sir William Wallace, notable for its fierce hatred of the English.

Politically, the last quarter of a century of the Middle Age contains no such notable events as the years just before it. In Great Britain it is a somewhat dreary period, in spite of the beginnings of our woollen manufactures and the growth of our oversea trade in British ships.

21. THE WORK OF THE MIDDLE AGE

THE MIDDLE AGE LAYS A FOUNDATION (1) IN CHURCH AND STATE.—The Middle Age did much to assist human progress, but the times were still too rough, and steady periods of peace too short and uncertain to allow free growth.

(1) The idea of the Middle Age was that the Catholic Church and the Universal Empire—one Church and one State—should be supreme throughout Christendom. Neither the Pope nor the Emperor succeeded in making all men accept his authority. What did happen was that nations grew up in England, Scotland, France, and Spain which were quite independent of the Empire and of any foreign power. The Lollards and other reformers had shown that all people could not be made to think alike.

In the Early Modern Age, which began in the second half of the fifteenth century, the ideal was not Catholic uniformity, but the freedom of *separate national states* to work out their own destiny in their own way. The freedom of the individual citizen did not come till long after.

(2) IN SOCIAL RELATIONS.—Society in the Middle Age was based on the feudal tie of land-holding, and there was a long gradation of persons who were both landlords

and tenants, between the actual tiller of the soil who was a tenant only and the king who was a landlord only. Each of these persons had a duty as tenant and another duty as overlord. The system in theory was an excellent training for good citizens, but in actual practice it was liable to great abuses, and the wisest kings did all they could to provide their subjects with good government, justice, and protection *directly* by officials responsible to themselves, and not through the barons.

The greatest gift of the Middle Age to human progress was the idea of *representative government*—the idea that the people themselves should elect men to represent them in dealing with the King's ministers, and to bargain for the reform of abuses before undertaking to provide money for the King's needs. The people in the Middle Age were not yet able to control the government effectively: that is shown by the breakdown of the rule of the Lancasters. But the system was ready for use, when the elements of disorder and danger in the State should have been cleared away by the strong rule of a wise king.

(3) In Methods of Justice.—The representative system also led to the growth of *trial by jury*, another of the great legacies of the Middle Age in modern times. Men have not yet been able to provide any fairer mode of trial than the judgment of one's fellow citizens, although we have certainly made great improvements in the understanding of "evidence."

(4) In New Labour Conditions.—Through most of the period we have been dealing with, the great mass of the people of England were serfs, who could not leave the estate on which they were born. This state of affairs lasted much longer in other countries, but in England, especially after the Black Death, the labourers changed their services in their lord's fields into money payments. They lost the benefit of the old arrangement, that they could not be turned off the estate so long as they

performed the usual services ; but they gained the right to sell their labour freely wherever they could find an employer. This *freedom of labour* ended badly for those who could not find employers, and had no special skill or powerful friends to help them ; but on the whole it made the people more enterprising, and caused them to turn readily to new industries, and before long to carry their trade into every sea and seek adventure in foreign lands.

(5) In Local Self-Government.—We have seen that the towns and the shires sent representatives to Parliament. At home, too, the townsmen at least managed much of their own local business through their councils or corporations ; and the tradesmen had further training in self-government in managing the affairs of their guilds, which controlled the making and marketing of goods. On the whole, there was a considerable class in Britain besides the barons and the churchmen which was making itself fit to share in ruling the country by constant practice in *local self-government.*

IV. UNITING OF THE NATIONS

22. THE TIME AND WORK OF HENRY VII, 1485-1509

The reign of Henry VII (1485-1509) is one of the most important in the history of England ; but in order to understand it properly, we must know also what was happening outside England.

The Rising States of Western Europe. — (1) France rounded off her dominions by acquiring Brittany in 1491. In that year Anne, the heiress of Brittany, was married to the King of France ; he died in 1498, but his successor also married Anne, in order to keep possession of Brittany.

(2) SPAIN.—Castile and Aragon became united by the marriage of their rulers, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. In their time the Moors were expelled from Granada. Thus Spain, like France, was becoming a united kingdom. On their death, their eldest surviving daughter, Juana, married Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian. Philip died in 1506; but his son Charles inherited Spain and the Netherlands, and was elected emperor on the death of his grandfather in 1519.

(3) The emperor was the nominal leader of the host of small princes who ruled over fragments of GERMANY; for, although France and Spain became consolidated about the time of Henry VII, Germany and Italy continued to be divided into many small states until the nineteenth century.

(4) In 1494 the King of France invaded ITALY, and tried to make himself master of Naples: the Spaniards followed and drove out the French. Another quarrel between the kings of France and Spain arose over the claims of the former to Milan, in northern Italy.

Thus, instead of the old wars caused by the possessions of the English kings in France, we now see that the kings of France and Spain, having become masters in their own lands, were beginning to quarrel about possessions in Italy. This gave a good opportunity for a wise ruler in England or Scotland to increase greatly the influence of his country, for both France and Spain were naturally desirous of foreign support and willing to pay for it.

OCEAN VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.—Important as is this new grouping of the states of Western Europe, it does not appeal to the imagination in the same way as the discovery of new routes to the East and of new lands in the West.

The old caravan routes, by which the spices, silks, and precious stones of Southern Asia had been brought from India or the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean for about

3000 years, had fallen into the power of the Turks, who took Constantinople in 1453. In order to avoid the heavy tolls exacted by the Turks and the risks of robbery on the long journey across Asia, attempts were made during the next hundred years to find a way to the East Indies by sea.

There were three directions in which people might search :—(*a*) southwards round Africa—if Africa had any southern end ; (*b*) westwards round the world—if the world were really round ; (*c*) north-east round the north of Europe and Asia—if there were a north-east passage free from ice.

(*a*) The first plan led to the discovery of the Cape route to India, which was first successfully followed, in 1497, by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese commander. (*b*) Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, in the service of Spain, crossed the Atlantic in 1492, and discovered islands which he thought were the Indies : a little later he reached the mainland of America, but it was the work of many other explorers to show how vast a continent barred the western way to the East Indies. Then men sought to pass either to the south or to the north of America. In 1520 a Portuguese seaman who had entered the service of Spain, Ferdinand Magellan, sailed westwards into the Pacific, through the straits which bear his name ; one of his ships was the first to sail round the world.

For many years the way was left clear for Portugal to build up its supremacy in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies, and for Spain to found a great empire in Mexico, in the West Indies, and in South America.

In a more northerly direction England took her share in the opening up of the New World, for in 1497 John Cabot, an Italian, sailed from Bristol under a commission from Henry VII and discovered Newfoundland and Labrador. His discoveries, however, led to no immediate

results beyond fishing voyages to the banks of Newfoundland.

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.—The people of England and Scotland were affected at this time not only by the rivalry of France and Spain and by the discovery of new lands overseas, but also by the revival of Greek and Roman learning and culture. Before 1500, lectures were given at Oxford on Greek literature and on the New Testament. The greatest of Oxford's students at this time were the Dutch writer Erasmus and his friend Thomas More.

The mother of Henry VII, Lady Margaret Beaufort, who died in the same year as the king himself, was one of the great benefactors of Cambridge University, and a patron of Caxton, the first English printer. Henry himself, though he was not fond of spending money, encouraged learning in a small way.

TWO PRETENDERS.—Henry united the claims of both York and Lancaster by marrying Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. Two claimants to the throne, however, appeared, who pretended to be Yorkist princes. The first of these was Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford joiner, who claimed to be the Earl of Warwick. In 1487 he was crowned in Dublin as Edward VI. The Yorkists invaded England, but were completely defeated at Stoke. Simnel became a menial servant in the king's household, and later one of his falconers.

A more serious pretender was Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Tournai boatman, who for six years claimed to be the younger of "the Princes in the Tower," sons of Edward IV. Every foreign ruler who was not on friendly terms with Henry was glad to encourage a possible rival to the Tudor king. Warbeck was received by Edward IV's youngest sister, Margaret, who had married the Duke of Burgundy, and was treated by her as her nephew. The King of Scotland, James IV, allowed Warbeck to

marry his own cousin, Lady Katharine Gordon. At the court of the Emperor Maximilian, Perkin was received as a prince; and he found support at first also in France and in Ireland.

In three successive years, 1495-7, several attempts were made on his behalf. The last effort was made in Somersetshire; but Warbeck ran away from his army without waiting for the enemy, and, failing to escape by sea, surrendered to Henry. After he had spent two years in prison, he and the young Earl of Warwick (who had been a prisoner in the tower for fourteen years) were executed—partly because they had plotted to escape and seize the king's treasure in the Tower, and partly because Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain were unwilling to marry their daughter to Henry's son so long as a likely rival, such as Warwick, remained to threaten his succession to the throne in England.

A STRONG TUDOR KING.—Marriage alliances were, in fact, one of the methods enployed by Henry to strengthen the Tudor dynasty on the throne. In 1503 Henry VII's daughter, Margaret, married James IV of Scotland, a marriage from which resulted the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, exactly a hundred years later.

Henry also provided against a renewal of civil strife in England by putting down the barons' custom of keeping retainers and defying the courts of law.

The wealth and power of the Crown were increased not only by the fines imposed by the Committee of the Council, but also by the confiscation of the estates of its enemies and of noble families which had been extinguished during the Wars of the Roses.

The Church was becoming weaker, because it was becoming more worldly and self-indulgent. The popes had set up openly as temporal princes rather than as guardians of religion. People were beginning to think

that the wealth of the Church could be put to better uses than the maintenance of monks who were believed to be idle and sometimes wicked. When the Church was attacked for its slackness, it looked to the king for protection, and in return the leading churchmen helped the king to carry out his policy in matters of state.

Thus, owing to the weakness of the barons and of the Church, the king was able to draw more and more power into his own hands; but he used his strength to give England what it needed—peace and order.

Henry was able to make the Crown wealthy and powerful without having to depend on Parliament for supplies. The people were glad to escape taxation by Parliament, and were not displeased to see the royal treasury filled with the spoils of Yorkist nobles and fines exacted from the barons by the Star Chamber. But towards the end of Henry's reign, and especially after the death of his wife in 1503, he became very greedy for money, and the devices of his agents to obtain it went beyond what was fair or just. Two of them, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, were particularly hated by the rich people whom they had taxed; and when Henry himself, who had done so much for England, died in 1509, at the age of fifty-two, the feeling of most Englishmen was one of relief and hope for better things.

23. FOREIGN TRADE: SCOTLAND: IRELAND: 1485-1513

ENGLISH TRADE AND SHIPPING.—When the House of Tudor came to the throne of England, the foreign trade of the country was carried on for the most part in ships and by seamen belonging to Venice (for the Mediterranean), to the Hanseatic League of north German towns (for the Baltic), and to the Netherlands (for the North

Sea). Henry VII made it one of the chief objects of his policy to protect the interests of English traders and to foster English shipping.

(1) Two Acts of Parliament were passed early in the reign, by which (*a*) the use of foreign ships for importing wine from the south of France was forbidden; and (*b*) exports from England were not to be carried in foreign vessels if *English ships* could be had.

(2) Protection for English traders and easy terms as regards the duties to be paid on imports were secured by treaties with Denmark and with the town of Riga on *the Baltic*—to the great indignation of the German Hanse towns.

(3) English trade with *the Mediterranean* had been carried on entirely by the Venetians, but this was altered in Henry's time. The Italians could find nowhere else as good wool as that grown in England; but, on the other hand, another Italian port would serve England as a market quite as well as Venice. Thus, when disputes arose, England had the stronger position, and it was ordered that not Venice, but its rival, Pisa, in Tuscany, should henceforth be "the Staple"—that is, the only authorised market — for English trade with the eastern Mediterranean.

(4) The Staple for English wool on the continental shore of *the North Sea* was removed in the same way from Antwerp to Calais, in order to punish Flanders for the help given to Yorkist pretenders. Flemings were banished from England, and Englishmen from Flanders. So much suffering was caused by the stoppage of trade that both governments at last saw the need for making peace. In 1496 a great commercial treaty was made with the Netherlands (including Flanders), which forbade the exacting of new duties from the traders of either country. Again, in 1506, Philip of Flanders was induced to sign a treaty throwing open new markets to English

woollen goods, and exempting English traders from various tolls.

SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES IV.—Weak as Scotland had been under James III, its friendship was coveted by foreign powers in the days of James IV. From 1495 to 1497 Warbeck was in Scotland; and James continued his hostility to England for some months after the pretender departed. Then followed a truce, which was made into a more solid peace by the marriage of James to Henry's daughter Margaret, at Holyrood, in August 1503. The English king, unfortunately, withheld part of Margaret's dowry, and this was one of several causes which led to the renewal of unfriendly relations.

The early years of the reign were distinguished by the achievements of a great Scots seaman, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo (in Fife), who in 1489 won two naval victories over the English in the Firth of Forth. Off Dunbar his two ships captured five of the enemy's; and when three ships were sent to avenge this defeat, he managed to take them also between St Abb's and the Firth of Tay. Two other famous captains of the time were the brothers Andrew and Robert Barton, who preyed on Dutch shipping in the North Sea in revenge for attacks on Scots vessels. Their fights with English captains when the countries were at peace led to complaints on both sides, and formed another reason for hostility between England and Scotland.

Within his own kingdom James secured a notable success when the Lord of the Isles—the descendant of the Celtic leader who had fought at Harlaw—was sentenced to forfeiture of his lands in 1493. For five years more James had to give all the attention he could to settling the affairs of the Isles.

The Scots clergy at this time were no less selfish and worldly than those of other lands: persons of bad character were often appointed to the most profitable places

in the Church. The discipline of the Church required to be made more strict: some people went further, and declared that its teaching also should be reformed.

INVASION OF ENGLAND: FLODDEN.—In 1511 the Pope formed "the Holy League" against France: he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian, by Ferdinand of Aragon, and by Henry VIII of England. But Scotland could not be tempted to abandon the old alliance with France. The Scots had no wish for war, but James IV felt that he must stand by his ally if France were attacked by England; and Henry VIII was determined to take part in the war against France, in the hope of regaining at least some of the old English possessions on the Continent.

When Henry crossed the Channel at the end of June 1513, James at once prepared to invade England. In the beginning of September, in cold, wet, and windy weather, the Scots captured several English castles on the Borders, notably Norham and Ford, where some valuable time was wasted by the king. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, led the English army round to the north of the Scots on the other side of the river Till, and then crossed it and approached them at Branxton, a mile north of Flodden. The battle began late in the afternoon and went on stubbornly till night. Next morning the remnant of the Scots had left the field, and the English were too weak to pursue them. Among the hosts of Scots who were slain were the king and thirty of his lords.

(*a*) LITERATURE AND EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.—James's reign had brought Scotland into the full current of the changes which were taking place in Europe. Printing was introduced in 1507 by Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar; and the Scots press was early employed on the work of native poets like William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. The University of Aberdeen was founded in 1495. An Act

of 1496 ordered all barons and freeholders to send their children to grammar schools to learn Latin, and then to schools of art and law to be trained so as to fit them to take a share in the government of their own districts.

(*b*) METHODS OF JUSTICE.—For the administration of justice, James provided that a " Daily Council " should sit in Edinburgh, and that justices should travel regularly through the country to see that the laws were properly executed. When the Highlands and the Isles were reduced to order, sheriffs were appointed to take charge of the several districts.

(*c*) NAVAL POWER AND FISHING INDUSTRY.—We have seen how successful Scots sailors were in the time of James IV. The king took a great interest in his navy, which at one time consisted of twenty-six vessels. James also owned the largest ship afloat, the *Great St Michael*. The North Sea fisheries formed a training-ground for seamen for the navy; they offered employment to idle vagabonds; and they brought to Scotland wealth which would otherwise have been left to the more enterprising people of the Netherlands.

(*d*) TRADE.—About 1500, fish, wool and hides were the chief articles exported from Scotland. The imports included such luxuries as the richer kinds of cloth, wines and jewels. The trade of Scotland was carried on less with its ally, France, than with the merchants of Flanders, who were then the chief agents for the exchange of goods between the north and the south of Europe.

AFFAIRS IN IRELAND.—The Irish people had never been conquered and reduced to order as the English were under Norman discipline. The eastern counties about Dublin (Leinster) had been seized by Norman barons in the time of Henry II, but the few great Norman families which settled there tended to become like the Irish instead of being able to raise the Irish to the higher level of European civilisation. It was only in Tudor

times that the question of establishing a strong, efficient government in Ireland was seriously considered.

In 1494 Sir Edward Poynings held a Parliament at Drogheda, which, besides passing laws for putting down "livery and maintenance" and the abuse of their power by the barons, enacted—

(1) That all English laws passed before 1494 should be in force in Ireland: and

(2) That an Irish Parliament should meet only when permitted by the King's Council in England, and should consider only such bills as had been approved by the English Council.

The Act remained in force for nearly three hundred years, and served as a mark of the subordination of Ireland to England. Even the English settlers in Ireland came to resent this later.

24. HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY, 1509-27

THE REFORMATION.—The great event of Henry VIII's time is what is generally called the Reformation, although a better description would be the Division of the Christian Church of the West.

(1) We have seen that some people were beginning to wish to throw off submission in matters of religion to popes whom they could not regard as worthy of being head of the Church. Some went further and wished to get away from the forms and ceremonies which were held by the Church to be necessary for salvation, and to take as the rule of their life, not what the Pope and his cardinals directed, but what was laid down in the Bible itself as the will of God.

Doctrines like these were known in Britain as "Lollardy," and had survived in various parts of the country since the time of Wycliffe's "poor priests." In the sixteenth century a similar movement was carried on

in a much bolder and more far-reaching way under the leadership of Martin Luther in Germany, of Huldreich Zwingli in Switzerland, and of John Calvin in Geneva. The reformers came to be known as Protestants after 1529.

(2) The Catholic Church was also coming to be disliked in Great Britain, because the people were unwilling to receive orders from foreigners in matters which concerned the clergy. Worst of all, when the Pope interfered, it was generally with the object of taking money from Great Britain to be spent in Italy by people who had rendered no real services to England or Scotland.

(3) Again, the churchmen in Great Britain had become very wealthy, and many of them were idle and pleasure-loving. In particular, it was thought to be a bad thing that so much land should be held by the monasteries. A "middle class" of sheep-farmers and merchants was growing up which made money chiefly through the wool-trade; and these people were anxious to have more land for pasturing sheep. They thought the monks were wicked, idle, and useless. These views were not quite fair to the monks, who were, as a rule, good landlords, and hospitable and generous to needy travellers.

There were thus three strong tendencies all making for a change in ecclesiastical matters—(1) the desire for a simple religion based on the teaching of *the Bible*, (2) the desire to throw off the *foreign authority* of the Pope, and (3) the desire to share in the lands and *wealth of the clergy*. All of these helped to cause a great breaking away from the Old Church, especially in the north of Europe.

THREE YOUTHFUL MONARCHS.—The ruler of France, FRANCIS I, was three years younger than Henry, and had already attained military glory by some victories in Italy. CHARLES I, the grandson of the late emperor Maximilian, ruled over Spain, Austria, the Netherlands, Germany, and possessions in the New World which was just being opened

up. Both Charles and Francis had ambitious designs on Italy; and their rivalry gave Henry an opportunity, if he desired, of playing one of them off against the other.

Early in his reign Henry VIII plunged into the wars which were being waged on the Continent. At first England joined the Holy League, but in 1514 Henry made peace with France.

THOMAS WOLSEY.—During this part of his reign Henry relied greatly on the advice and the shrewd management of Thomas Wolsey. Wolsey was the son of an Ipswich butcher or grazier, had been educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and had entered the Church. In 1507 he became chaplain to Henry VII, but he first displayed his ability on a grand scale in raising money and making arrangements for Henry's campaign in France in 1513. For the next sixteen years he continued to manage the details of Henry's business for him.

Charles of Spain was elected Emperor as Charles V in 1519. Henry and Wolsey then conspired with Charles to crush France and divide the spoils. This policy was unwise, and it was entirely unsuccessful.

In 1525 Charles defeated and captured Francis at Pavia, in Italy. He was able to exact the harshest terms before releasing the French king; but Henry by this time saw that England was to gain nothing by Charles's victory, and he now joined Francis and helped him to secure better terms.

When Wolsey proved unsuccessful in raising money to continue the French war in 1525, he appeased Henry's anger by making him a present of the palace of Hampton Court on the Thames. In the same year he founded Christ Church (then known as Cardinal College), Oxford.

Wolsey rose to be Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of York, Cardinal, and Papal Legate, and he assumed a pomp and magnificence fit for the ruler of Church and

State. His arrogance aroused the resentment of the nobles, who were very jealous of his rapid promotion. Wolsey had few true friends, and was dependent entirely on the favour of the king.

25. THE TYRANNY OF HENRY VIII, 1527-47

HENRY'S MARRIAGE QUESTION.—Henry wished to have a son to succeed him and thus avoid the danger of another civil war in England; but all his children had died young except a daughter, Mary. He began to believe that the death of his children was due to God's displeasure: his wife, Katharine of Aragon, had previously been married to his brother, Arthur; perhaps it was not right that he should have married her. He asked the Pope to declare that this was so, and to set him free to take some one else as his queen.

Unfortunately for Henry's plans, the Pope was just then in the power of the Emperor, who was Katharine's nephew. He dared not give such a decision as Henry wished, but he did all in his power to gain time. Henry had already selected the lady whom he wished to marry: Wolsey did not think well of the match, and the lady, Anne Boleyn, hated Wolsey. The proceedings dragged on for two years before Henry began to threaten and to show his power to injure the Church if he were not satisfied.

SEPARATION FROM ROME.—In 1529 Wolsey was dismissed, because he had failed to induce the Pope to annul Henry's marriage with Katharine. In the same year there met what is known as "the Reformation Parliament," which was not dissolved till 1536. In 1531 Henry managed to force *the clergy* to recognise him as "Supreme Head" of the Church. Appeals to Rome were forbidden in 1532, and in 1533 the King married Anne, and the Archbishop

of Canterbury (Thomas Cranmer) formally declared the marriage with Katharine to be void.

The idea of making the king head of the Church was suggested by one Thomas Cromwell, who had been employed by Wolsey to look after money matters, and notably in connection with the foundation of Cardinal College at Oxford. Henry VIII was a man of great ability and far-reaching ideas; but he was intensely selfish, and could not bear that anything should stand in the way of his plans. In Cromwell he found a very clever and unscrupulous manager, who would stick at nothing to achieve the ends desired by the king.

In 1534 *Parliament*, by the Act of Supremacy, declared Henry Supreme Head of the Church, thus rejecting the authority of the Pope. By the law of England, Henry could now carry out his wishes in Church matters without reference to any other authority. In 1535 Cromwell was appointed Henry's deputy or Vicar-General: he at once ordered an inspection of the monasteries, and after the inquiry many of the smaller houses were abolished as useless or corrupt, their property being confiscated by the king. In 1536 Cromwell directed the clergy to have an English Bible laid in every parish church for the people to read.

Sir Thomas More.—Such sweeping changes could not be made without opposition, but Henry would not allow his actions to be questioned. An Act passed in 1534 declared that even words spoken against the king should be regarded as treason and punished accordingly. Amongst those who suffered death under this Act for refusing to recognise the King as Supreme Head of the Church was the most learned English layman of the day, Sir Thomas More.

Sir Thomas More, the son of a judge, was a friend of the greatest scholars and artists of his time in Western Europe. Henry recognised More's true worth and

honoured him not only in public but also in private friendship. In 1529 More succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor, but he resigned in 1532, when the religious changes had begun. Yet Henry would not leave him in peace: the King so much dreaded even the silent disapproval of his former friend that he had him executed in 1535.

THE "PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE."—The rapid changes carried out in the years 1534-6 provoked a great demonstration in Yorkshire and the northern counties in favour of the old ways. The people who took part in this "Pilgrimage of Grace" in 1536 did not regard themselves as rebels: their object was to protest against the overthrow of the monasteries and to show the king that his advisers, such as Cromwell, did not truly represent the feeling of the country. Nevertheless, the rising was put down with cruel severity. Henry had gone too far to turn back, and he was determined to force the country to accept his new system. During the next few years many supporters were won by grants of the old monastic lands, while, on the other hand, Henry showed by a number of executions that he meant to bully all England into submission.

A DESPOTIC KING.—The larger monasteries, which had been spared in 1536, were also dissolved in 1539. Their heads, the abbots, disappeared from the *House of Lords*, and from this time the clerical peers (the bishops) began to be less numerous than the temporal or lay peers. As most of the nobles owed their fortunes to Henry or his father, and as the king really appointed the bishops, the Upper House of Parliament was not likely to oppose Henry's wishes. Henry and Cromwell also used their influence and authority to secure the election of such members of the *House of Commons* as they could trust, and to keep them obedient by means of promises or threats.

Henry had put aside his first wife, Katharine of Aragon, the mother of the Princess Mary, in 1533. In 1536 he had his second wife, Anne Boleyn, the mother of the Princess Elizabeth, beheaded. The third, Jane Seymour, mother of Prince Edward, died in 1537. In 1539 Cromwell planned a fourth marriage for Henry with a German Protestant princess, Anne of Cleves; but the king was disappointed with Anne, and had the marriage annulled. From that time Cromwell's power was in danger. He was made Earl of Essex in April 1540, and was preparing further attacks upon the Catholics, when Henry suddenly ordered his arrest. He was executed only about ten weeks after receiving his earldom.

The king was allowed by Parliament to fix the succession to the Crown, and he ordered it to pass first to Prince Edward and his descendants, then to the Princess Mary and hers, and, third, to Princess Elizabeth. Each of these succeeded in turn, but none left an heir in the direct line; so that, in spite of Henry's anxiety to preserve it, the House of Tudor died out in the next generation.

During his last years Henry wavered between the Protestant and Catholic parties, and seemed to wish to establish a compromise by his own authority. He put to death both violent reformers and bigoted supporters of the power of the Pope.

Rival Nobles in Scotland.—In Scotland minorities were of regular occurrence under the House of Stewart. The death of James IV at Flodden had left the Crown to an infant one year old, and Henry VIII constantly plotted to build up a party in Scotland which should control affairs in his interests.

In 1524 the Earl of Arran, grandson of a sister of James III, had the king proclaimed, at the age of twelve; but Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, who had married James IV's widow, soon managed to get

James into his hands and carried on the government in his name. The Douglases remained supreme in Scotland till 1528; but the young king bitterly resented their control, and, as soon as he could escape from them, he endeavoured to drive them out of the country. The rivals of the Douglases flocked to support him, and within five months his object was accomplished.

JAMES V'S TROUBLED REIGN.—James was not yet seventeen years old, but in the next three years he followed up his first success by reducing the Borders, the Highlands, and the Western Islands to order, so far as was then possible. His measures, however, gave much offence to some of the more powerful lords, and he had to rely for support chiefly upon the clergy. He was thus committed to friendship with the Old Church just when England was breaking away from it.

In 1536-7 James visited France, and married Madeleine, the daughter of Francis I; but the queen died two months after arriving in Scotland. A year later James married Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claude, Duke of Guise.

The leading churchman in Scotland was David Beaton, whose zeal against the Reformers earned him in 1539 the post of Archbishop of St Andrews and the rank of Cardinal. The Church, on which James relied, would not allow him to be friendly with England. But when matters drifted into war, the nobles, who had been offended by James's efforts to strengthen the Crown, refused to give him proper support.

Towards the end of the year 1542, after James had disbanded one army owing to the disaffection of the nobles, another large but half-hearted Scots force was routed on the shore of the Solway Firth by a body of Englishmen not one-third of their number. The news of the disaster helped to crush the spirit of James, who was already ill; and he died three weeks later at Falkland

Palace, in Fifeshire, at the age of thirty. His two sons had died in infancy, and he left only a daughter six days old, who was to become famous later as Mary, Queen of Scots.

There already existed in Scotland a clear division between a Catholic party, which was often helped by France, and a Protestant party, which looked to England for support. The Scots Reformation was directed far more by the feelings and wishes of the people than, as in England, by royal policy.

26. PROTESTANT FACTIONS: CATHOLIC PERSECUTION, 1547-58

HERTFORD AND THE REFORMATION.—At the death of Henry VIII, the Earl of Hertford was appointed Protector. He was the uncle of the king, Edward VI, and was created Duke of Somerset.

In religious matters, Hertford favoured the Protestants, and had a new service prepared for the English Church—"The first Book of Common Prayer." In many parts of the country the reformers went further than Hertford would have liked, and destroyed the images and ornaments in the churches.

The changes in the Church made men feel unsettled and insecure; but another change which had been going on for many years affected the country people even more closely in their everyday life—the "enclosure" of large areas by landlords for pasturing sheep.

LABOUR TROUBLES.—As more land was used for sheep-farming to grow wool for the merchants, less was kept in cultivation. Fewer men were required for tending sheep than for ploughing and reaping. In many cases, the lords enclosed not only their own demesne land, but also lands which had been used in common by all the villagers. The labourers had asserted the right to sell

their labour to the best advantage and to pay money for their land. The landlords now took advantage of this new kind of bargain, refused to continue the lease of the land to the cultivators, turned them away, and introduced flocks of sheep. They claimed that, if the tenants could dispose as they pleased of their labour, they, on the other hand, had the right to turn their land to the best possible advantage. Thus many men had to abandon their homes and wander away to seek employment in the towns. Houses and even villages in some parts of the country remained empty and fell into ruins, while the sheep-farmers and wool-merchants built up their own fortunes and a great national industry.

KETT'S RISING.—It was this unjust enclosing of common land which provoked the rising of July and August 1549. The most remarkable leader of the peasantry was Robert Kett, a tanner of Norfolk. After a few weeks he was defeated, and many of his followers slain, by an army under the Earl of Warwick. Somerset had shown much sympathy with the peasants; and the rich and powerful landowners who had been alarmed at the rising were grateful to Warwick for putting it down. Warwick was very ambitious, and he managed to raise a strong party against Somerset. Before the end of the year Somerset was deposed from his position as head of the government, and Warwick became Protector.

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.—Warwick, who now took the title of Duke of Northumberland, became all-powerful, as the king, by this time fourteen years old, was completely under his control. Northumberland relied on the extremer Protestants for support, and Edward himself was in sympathy with their views. A second Book of Common Prayer was now issued by Archbishop Cranmer (1552); it is nearly the same as that which is still used in the Church of England. Cranmer also drew up a statement of the belief

of the Church, which he reduced into forty-two heads—the basis of the "Thirty-nine Articles," which still express the faith of the English Church.

NORTHUMBERLAND'S CRAFTY POLICY.—But Northumberland was by no means popular in the country, and his power depended on the king's favour. Edward fell ill in 1553. If he died, the lawful successor to the throne would be his sister, Mary, who was a Roman Catholic. From her Northumberland could expect no favour, and his life would probably be in danger. He made a desperate attempt to prolong his own power by appealing to Edward, in the interests of Protestantism, to make a will, passing over his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and leaving the crown to Lady Jane Grey, a grand-daughter of Henry VIII's sister, Mary. Northumberland provided for his own predominance by marrying his son, Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane.

On 6th July 1553 Edward died; and on the 10th Jane was proclaimed queen. But the people were disgusted by Northumberland's selfish policy, and even the Council itself, which had abetted his plans, deserted him as soon as it became apparent that the feeling of the country was against him. Within ten days from the proclamation of Queen Jane, Northumberland himself recognised that his attempt had failed. He therefore proclaimed Mary, and submitted to arrest. A month later he was tried and condemned to death.

MARY AND CATHOLICISM.—In the beginning of 1554, Mary's proposal to marry the Catholic king of Spain led to a serious rising. It was the men of Kent who were most stirred at this time by hate of Spain. Led by the Member of Parliament, Sir Thomas Wyatt, they marched to London. Mary's supporters allowed them to reach the town without much opposition, and then cut off their retreat and surrounded them. Wyatt surrendered in order to avoid bloodshed; but the rising served as an excuse

for the execution, not only of scores of those who were concerned, but also of innocent persons such as Lady Jane Grey and her husband.

Mary's reign was even shorter than Edward's. She was an earnest, but narrow Roman Catholic; and she married Philip II of Spain, the son of the Emperor Charles V. The interest of her reign centres in her attempts to induce the English people to submit to the Roman Catholic Church, and to help her husband in promoting the interests of Spain.

The queen's marriage took place in July 1554. In November, Parliament was reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church. Henry VIII's laws against the Pope were repealed, and the old heresy laws revived; but it was seen that it would be unwise to try to take back the monastic lands and other Church goods which had been confiscated and granted to private persons.

Persecution of Protestants.—Mary thought that Englishmen might be forced to be Catholics if stubborn Protestants were imprisoned and put to death. In less than four years, 1555-8, three hundred Protestants were burned—most of them in the south-east of England. The most famous martyrs were three who suffered at Oxford—Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester (who were burned in October 1555), and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (burned in March 1556). In prison Cranmer was induced to recant his opinions; but before his execution he expressed his sorrow for this weakness, and at the stake he behaved with courage equal to that of any of the other martyrs. Cranmer's greatest service to England was the composition of the Book of Common Prayer, which has influenced the thoughts and feelings of twelve generations of Englishmen.

The persecution did not tend to make the people look with favour upon Roman Catholicism. Nor did the

sacrifice of England's interests to those of Spain make Philip a greater favourite with the people. England was dragged into war with France in a quarrel in which she had no real interest; and Calais, the last English possession in France, was lost in 1558.

Mary saw the disappointment of all her aims for the good of her family, her faith, and her people. Her great desire had been to have a son to continue her policy and to keep England Catholic; but in November 1558 she died childless.

27. THE END OF "THE AULD ALLIANCE," 1542-61

MINORITY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.—MARY STEWART was born in 1542, and was Queen of Scots almost from her birth. From 1548 to 1561 she was brought up in France. In her absence, the great struggle between French and English influences was fought out in Scotland.

The leading parts were played at first by the queen's mother, Mary of Lorraine, and Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, on the French-Catholic side; and by Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, on the English side. Lennox married the daughter of Margaret Tudor and her second husband, the Earl of Angus. Their son was Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, who later married Queen Mary.

Between the two parties there wavered James Hamilton, the second Earl of Arran, who had the next claim to the Scots throne after Queen Mary and her family. At the crisis he took the side of England; and he sought to marry his son at one time to Elizabeth of England, and at another time to Mary of Scotland.

ENGLISH INVASIONS.—ARRAN, who was the first regent, made a treaty with England for the marriage

of Mary to Henry VIII's son, Edward. But the infant queen was carried off from Arran's keeping by the French party, and, in order to retain his position as regent, he submitted to their wishes. The treaty with England was broken off, a close connection was renewed with France, and some Protestants were burned as heretics.

Henry VIII was furious at this disappointment. He sent the Earl of Hertford with a fleet to burn Edinburgh and the surrounding villages; and this work was thoroughly carried out in May 1544. In the next year some barons of the English Border tried to repeat this success, but, after they had burned Melrose, they were cut off and routed at Ancrum, near Jedburgh. The French now sent troops to help their allies to retaliate, but the invasion of England which followed lasted only four days. Its most important result was to bring Hertford north again with a great army. In September 1545 he burned two hundred and fifty towns and villages, and ruined the famous abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Coldingham, and Roxburgh.

In 1546 the English made a plot for the murder of one of their chief enemies — Cardinal Beaton. But the Protestant party in Scotland had been rendered desperate by the burning of their most eloquent leader, George Wishart, before the Cardinal's castle at St Andrews in March; and they forestalled Henry's plot by slaying Beaton at St Andrews in May. The murderers were then besieged in the castle, where they received aid from England; but in 1547 the French sent a fleet which compelled the garrison to surrender. Among those who had joined the party in the castle was a preacher called John Knox, who became the most famous of the Scots Reformers. Knox and the others were taken to France, and either imprisoned or sent to the galleys.

Henry VIII died in 1547, but Hertford continued his policy. He made a third raid into Scotland with an army

and a fleet, and defeated the Scots at Pinkie (on the shore of the Firth of Forth, near Edinburgh) in 1547.

The ravages of Hertford did not frighten the Scots into submission. Mary, a child of five, was sent to France to be educated and to marry the Dauphin: when she next saw Scotland she was eighteen years old, and a widow. French troops were again sent to aid the Scots, and gradually the English garrisons were driven out. When England and France made peace in 1550, the English were required to withdraw from Scotland.

FRENCH RULE IN SCOTLAND.—The weakness of England under Hertford and Warwick and under the Catholic Queen Mary gave the French party in Scotland a great opportunity, and in 1554 MARY OF LORRAINE was able to oust Arran from the regency. Her daughter was the destined Queen of France, and her brothers, Francis, Duke of Guise, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, expected to control the policy of France. Mary ruled Scotland with French ministers and French soldiers and in the interests of France, because those interests seemed to be the interests of her own family, the Guises.

From 1553 to 1558 Mary Tudor was ruling England in the interests of Spain. Spain was hostile to France, and so, the closer England was drawn to Spain, the more Mary of Lorraine tried to keep Scotland apart from England. But she made the mistake of displaying too openly the control of France over the government. As time went on, the Scots nobles resented this more and more, and, when France and England went to war, the Scots, in spite of the regent's wishes, would do very little to help their old ally.

In November 1558 Mary Tudor died, and England ceased to be connected with Spain, but it did not become friendly to France. The French, and especially the Guise family, claimed that Elizabeth, as the daughter of Anne Boleyn (whom Henry VIII had married while his first wife

was still alive), had no right to the throne of England, and that the true heir was the grand-daughter of Margaret Tudor and James IV—that is, Mary Stewart, the Queen of Scotland and prospective Queen of France. The interests of Mary of Lorraine and her family were as hostile to those of Elizabeth as they could possibly be. Therefore, as Elizabeth relied on the support of the English Protestants, the Guises had to adopt a strong Catholic policy and strike at England through a Catholic Scotland.

Mary of Lorraine began to try to put down Protestantism in Scotland. But the Protestants had now gained the supprt of a "national" party, which hated to see Frenchmen holding high positions in Scotland and directing its government in the interests of foreigners—the Guises. This party very naturally came to look to England for aid.

Triumph of Protestant Party.—As early as December 1557 the Protestant leaders, known as "the Lords of the Congregation," had signed a "bond" or "covenant" to stand by one another. In the summer of 1559 both sides took up arms.

Elizabeth's adviser, William Cecil, was able to induce her to help the Scots Protestants. In January 1560 an English fleet appeared in the Firth of Forth, while, on the other hand, storms delayed the reinforcements which were despatched from France. An English army advanced to join the Scots in besieging Leith, which had become the French headquarters, and an English fleet commanded the Firth against any reinforcements which France might send.

Mary of Lorraine died in June: and four weeks later a treaty was made at Edinburgh, which provided that Scotland was to be freed from French officials and soldiers, and that until the Queen's return the country should be governed by a committee of twelve, seven appointed by Mary and five by the Scots Parliament.

This victory for Protestantism and for the unity of Great Britain and its freedom from foreign control was made secure by the death of the King of France in December. Mary and the Guises lost their power in Protestant and national Scotland, which was inclined already to criticise and distrust her.

The Scots Parliament in 1560 abolished the Pope's authority in the country, and approved the twenty-five articles of belief of the national Church of Scotland. The questions of the endowment and of the government of the new Church were still unsettled when Mary landed at Leith in August 1561.

28. DANGERS FROM EUROPE: ADVENTURES BEYOND EUROPE, 1558-87

"THE MIDDLE WAY."—The religious revolution of the sixteenth century led to civil wars in almost all the states of Western Europe. In England, after the extremes of the two preceding reigns, Elizabeth attempted to effect a compromise. She had little sympathy with the advanced Protestants; but, on the other hand, the Pope had never allowed the marriage of Henry VIII to her mother, Anne Boleyn; and good Catholics doubted whether Elizabeth could have any right to the Crown. She therefore tried to win the support of moderate men on both sides by finding a "middle way," keeping many of the usages of the Old Church, but not recognising the headship of the Pope.

Rome, of course, could not be content with this, and in the end Elizabeth found herself regarded as the champion of Protestantism in Europe. She gave help to the Protestants of Scotland, of France, and of the Spanish Netherlands.

By the Act of Supremacy in 1559 the queen was declared to be supreme in Church matters as well as in

those of the State, while the Act of Uniformity of the same year prescribed the use of a Prayer Book based on that of 1552.

ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.—In FRANCE there was a party, known as the "Huguenots," which wished to establish Protestantism, or, at least, to have it tolerated, and to check the growing power of Spain. The opposing Catholic party, led by the Guises, the brothers of Mary of Lorraine, wished to make England Catholic under their niece, Mary Stewart; they desired also to be friendly with Spain, and to persecute the Protestants at home.

The civil wars between the Catholic Government and the Huguenots began in 1562, and were renewed at intervals until near the end of the century. In 1572 the Catholic party managed to induce the king (Charles IX) to order the assassination of the Protestants on the 24th of August—St Bartholomew's Day. This might have proved a very serious blunder, for England and France had been coming to be more friendly, and the English Protestants were naturally enraged at the massacre. But Spain was so powerful and so intensely Catholic that Elizabeth could not afford to break with France.

In 1598 Henry of Navarre, who had succeeded to the French throne, issued the "Edict of Nantes," giving toleration to the Huguenots.

SPAIN AND THE DUTCH.—Philip II of SPAIN, who had been the husband of Mary Tudor, was also ruler of the Netherlands; and there a large proportion of the people were Protestants. Philip was determined to put down heresy at all costs, but the persecution under the Duke of Alva only stirred up rebellion, and the war proved too much for Spain. In 1579 the seven northern provinces formed the "Union of Utrecht," and in 1581 they definitely cast off their allegiance to Spain. This was the beginning of the Dutch Republic, properly styled the "United Provinces," but more frequently

called by the name of the most important province, Holland.

In 1584 the Dutch leader, William of Orange, was murdered. The Dutch continued bravely to fight for their freedom, and England and France afforded some help from time to time. At the close of Elizabeth's reign Spain was still attempting to subdue the Dutch, with ever-lessening hope of success.

MARY STEWART IN SCOTLAND.—Elizabeth's most serious danger was perhaps one which lay nearer home, in Scotland and in England itself. In 1565 MARY STEWART married Lord Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lennox—a most unfortunate marriage, for Darnley was a worthless youth, who seems to have set about thwarting the queen in public as well as in private matters. In these circumstances Mary took as her chief adviser her private secretary, David Riccio. The leading Scots nobles, jealous of Riccio's influence, joined Darnley in a plot to get rid of the favourite. They did this in the most brutal way: bursting into Mary's room in Holyrood Palace one evening in March 1566, they dragged Riccio out and stabbed him to death.

Mary had her revenge within a year. In February 1567 a house on the site where the University of Edinburgh now stands, in which Darnley was lying ill, was blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley was found strangled. Everyone believed that this gunpowder plot was the work of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell; but Mary showed what she thought of the deed by marrying Bothwell only three months later.

The nobles rose in rebellion, forced Mary to surrender at Carberry Hill, not far from Edinburgh, and shut her up in a castle on an island in Loch Leven. There, in July 1567, she was made to resign the Crown to her infant son, and to appoint as regent her half-brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray. Within a year Mary escaped by the aid

of Moray's enemies, the Hamilton family. In a short battle at Langside, near Glasgow, Mary's forces were hopelessly routed; and she fled to England to ask help from Queen Elizabeth.

MARY IN ENGLAND: DANGER TO THE STATE.—Elizabeth was in a serious difficulty. Mary was her rival, and many of her own Catholic subjects believed that Mary should be occupying the throne of England. Elizabeth dared not restore Mary to Scotland as queen of an unwilling people, and she would not hand her over to her rebellious subjects as a prisoner. Still less would she set her free to seek help from France or Spain. The only course left was to keep her in England, but even that could not prevent Mary's friends from plotting in her interests.

Their favourite plan at first was to marry Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, the chief English Catholic noble, and to put them on the throne in place of Elizabeth. As in the days of "the Pilgrimage of Grace," the north of England was still backward, conservative and Catholic; and there, in 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland attempted to organise a rising. Little came of this, and the earls fled to Scotland.

In 1570 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth: from that time Englishmen could not be loyal both to the Pope and to the Queen. Those who remained true to the Church of Rome were regarded as likely to betray England to the enemies of Elizabeth, and several of them were executed, not as heretics, but as suspected traitors.

THE JESUITS.—In 1574 the first missionaries were sent to England from a college which had been founded for English Catholics at Douai, in France. In 1580 came the first members of "the Society of Jesus," or "Jesuits," extremely able men who devoted their lives to the service of the Roman Catholic Church, obeying in everything the directions of their leader or "General." The Jesuits were greatly feared as a secret society of vigorous, unselfish,

zealous men under excellent discipline. They were believers in the doctrine that the great end—the good of the Catholic religion—justified whatever means might be adopted for its accomplishment, even the killing of its enemies. Like the old monks and friars, many of the Jesuits later fell away from their high standard, and by their selfishness and unscrupulous behaviour caused the whole Society to be regarded with hatred by Catholic as well as by Protestant states.

EXECUTION OF QUEEN MARY.—In 1586 another plot against Queen Elizabeth was discovered. The chief leader was Anthony Babington, who had been page to Mary some years before. Mary herself was shown to have been aware of the plot. So long as she lived, she was a danger to Elizabeth and to the peace and security of England. The people, as a whole, were anxious for her death ; but it was with the greatest reluctance that Elizabeth signed the warrant for her execution, and she afterwards declared that she had not intended the sentence to be carried out. Mary was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, in 1587, nineteen years after her flight to England.

ENGLAND'S STRENGTH ABROAD.—The real strength of England at this time was on the sea. The new discoveries across the ocean had led to the development of new types of warships moved by sails instead of the oars which had been used for galleys in the Mediterranean. The English people were the first to adapt themselves to the new conditions. Henry VIII had taken a great interest in shipbuilding, and in his time the foundations of England's supremacy at sea were laid.

(1) THE EAST INDIES.—Even in Mary's reign, Englishmen had begun to look for a route of their own to the East Indies, round the north of Europe and Asia. They had not succeeded in reaching the Indies, but they opened up a trade with a small state, which

later developed into the enormous Russian Empire (now the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics). This trade was managed by the *Muscovy* [1] *Company*.

About 1580 an attempt was made to use the old trade-route to the East, and commercial relations were established with the Turks at Constantinople: this trade was managed by the *Levant Company*.[2]

Some years later England was openly at war with Spain and Portugal, and English seamen boldly followed the Portuguese route to the Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Between the exactions of the Turks and the ravages of the pirates of the Barbary coast in North Africa, the old route was a very precarious one; and on the last day of the sixteenth century the *East India Company* received a charter from the queen, and a fleet was at once fitted out to try the new way.

Since the voyage of Magellan in 1520, it had been known that there was a passage to the south of America. Magellan's example was not soon followed; but two voyages round the world were made at this time by Englishmen—by Sir Francis Drake in 1577-80, and by Thomas Cavendish, 1586-8.

(2) THE WEST INDIES.—Besides the trading and exploring voyages to the East Indies, others were directed to the plunder of the Spanish Main [3] and the West Indies. At first John Hawkins sought only to trade with the Spanish colonists, to whom he carried slaves from Africa. The Spanish authorities forbade the colonists to trade with Hawkins, and he was treacherously attacked in one of their ports.

In retaliation, Elizabeth, encouraged by Cecil, seized

[1] From Moscow, the then capital of Russia.

[2] French, *levant*, rising—*i.e.*, the East, where the sun rises: in particular the coast of the Mediterranean east of Italy.

[3] The mainland of Central and South America: the name is often wrongly applied to the Caribbean Sea.

Spanish treasure, and a few years later Drake made his great plundering voyage round the world.

(3) EARLY COLONIES.—Before there was open war with Spain, England had begun to try to found colonies of her own. Sir Humphrey Gilbert received a charter for the purpose in 1578; but his attempt to make a settlement in Newfoundland in 1583 had to be abandoned, and he himself was drowned on the homeward voyage. In each of the three years 1585-6-7, settlers were sent by Sir Walter Ralegh to a colony which he called Virginia, situated on Roanoke Island, North Carolina. But the coming of the Armada in 1588 prevented adequate relief from being sent or from reaching the settlers, and this colony also came to nothing.

As a result of these adventures and the plundering of Spanish ships, English seamen were well trained and experienced by the time when Spain made her great attack on England.

29. TRIUMPHS AND NEW TROUBLES, 1588-1603

THE ARMADA.—In 1585 France was plunged into a civil war between Henry of Navarre and the Guises. In 1586 friendly relations were established between the English and the Scots, who hoped that their young king, James, would succeed to the English throne on the death of Elizabeth. Thus, when Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed in 1587, the way was clear for a straight fight between Spain and England; France could not, and Scotland would not, do anything to help the Catholic cause.

In 1587 Philip of Spain planned a great invasion of England, but Drake pounced upon his ships at Cadiz before the preparations were complete, and destroyed so many that the expedition had to be postponed for a year.

In July 1588 it was proposed to repeat the raid on the Spanish harbours, but the wind drove back the English ships and brought the Spanish Armada into the Channel. The Armada, at anchor off Calais, was attacked by means of fire-ships; in alarm the Spaniards cut their cables and drifted along the French coast towards Dunkirk, where they were to have taken on board the army which had been fighting in the Netherlands. To gain an opportunity to embark the troops, it was necessary first to beat off the English. The decisive battle was fought off Gravelines; the Spaniards lost a few ships and were driven off the coast.

There was nothing for it but to abandon the expedition and return home, not through the English fleet, but round the north of Scotland. The storms of the next few weeks played havoc with the ill-handled and unseaworthy Spanish ships. About twenty wrecks were traced along the Scots and Irish coasts; a larger number of vessels must have foundered at sea.

Spain's Sea Power Crippled.—The war went on for sixteen years after this, but there was never any real danger for England. The most successful venture was a repetition of Drake's raid on Cadiz, which was easily carried out in 1596 by the Earl of Essex and Lord Howard of Effingham, who had been the commander-in-chief against the Armada. A more heroic, if less profitable, action was that of Sir Richard Grenville, commander of the *Revenge*, who in the Azores in 1591 refused to run away from fifteen Spanish vessels, and fought them all single-handed for fifteen hours. His ship was taken in the end: it was the only English warship lost in Elizabeth's reign. The easy victory of Essex and Howard, on the other hand, put it out of the power of Spain to strike an effective blow by sea for some years to come.

Risings in Ireland.—Throughout this period, there was continual trouble in Ireland. While Scotland was

being drawn towards England by common religious opinions, Ireland was more than ever severed from England by religious differences. There were three serious risings, and the suppression of the last of these was the first real conquest of Ireland.

CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH LABOUR AND THE POOR LAW.—In England itself, great efforts were made by Parliament to cure the evils which had been caused by (*a*) the enclosure of corn-lands for pasture; (*b*) the difficulties put in the way of those who wished to set up in business in the towns; and (*c*) the abolition of the monasteries where the poor had often found food and shelter. Two very important Acts were passed, one at the beginning, and one at the end, of the reign: the first regulated the condition of labour in England, while the second made provision for those who were unable to work at all.

By the Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601, a rate on land was to be raised for the relief of the poor, which was to be entrusted to "overseers" appointed in every parish by the Justices of the Peace. The principle of the Elizabethan Poor Law continued in force in England till 1834; it sought to provide employment for those who could and would work, relief for those who could not, and a house of correction for those who could but would not.

The hardships of the working class, however, were relieved less by Acts of Parliament than by the new careers that were opened to them through the rise of the Navy and merchant shipping, of trading companies, and of colonies, and by the stimulus given to industry by the opening up of new markets.

PROTESTANTS AND PARLIAMENT.—Although foreign dangers and the hardships of the poor and unemployed tended to diminish as the Tudor period drew to a close, other difficulties were becoming more prominent.

Trouble was brewing in two directions in the later years of Elizabeth. (1) The extreme Protestants or

Puritans became more and more dissatisfied with usages in the English Church which reminded them of Rome. They held that the spirit of worship ought not to be aided by images, incense, or ornaments of any sort.

(2) *Parliament* had been carefully managed by the earlier Tudors, and had generally accepted and carried out their wishes, as being intended for the peace and security of the realm. Mary had lost the favour of the people by trying to undo the work of her predecessors, but the members rallied again to support Elizabeth and her moderate policy against Spain and Catholicism.

The Commons had great respect for the queen, in whose reign England had become so powerful, but they were learning to assert their own powers even against a ruler whom they liked and trusted. Elizabeth's successor found it very difficult to satisfy either the Puritans or the Parliament.

Death and Character of Elizabeth.—Elizabeth died at Richmond in March 1603, in her seventieth year. She had played her part in the elevation of England by methods which were often cunning and deceitful. Yet it was with her name that the people associated all that they were proud of in their recent history; and she received their homage as no more than her due. She has been accused of meanness, but in most instances her economy was necessary and beneficial for the state. She had a wise counsellor in William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and the policy adopted was often more the work of Cecil than of the Queen.

30. JAMES VI AND THE SCOTS PRESBYTERIANS, 1567-1603

The Good Regent.—Moray, who became Regent in Scotland in 1567, had been leader of the Protestant "Lords of the Congregation" who opposed Mary of

Lorraine; and he naturally pursued a policy of friendship with England.

The Catholic party friendly to Mary determined upon his death, and in 1570 he was shot at Linlithgow by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Moray had done more than any other man to establish Protestantism in Scotland, and he was remembered by the people as "the Good Regent."

REGENCIES OF LENNOX, MAR, AND MORTON.—During the next eleven years the country was ruled by three regents in succession, the Earls of Lennox, Mar, and Morton.

During the rule of Lennox and Mar the country continued in a very disturbed state. On Mar's death, the *Earl of Morton* ruled strongly and maintained order in the country; but, like Somerset in England, he was accused of being very greedy in dealing with the wealth of the Old Church. By 1578 James was beginning to have a mind of his own, and his tutors taught him to distrust Morton.

In 1581 Morton was overthrown, and was executed for his share in the murder of Darnley. What the change really meant was a victory for French and Catholic over English and Protestant influences.

PROTESTANT AND ENGLISH INFLUENCE.—The Protestants soon managed to capture James. He was seized near Perth by William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, who was acting for the Presbyterian leaders. A month later James escaped from the Ruthvens, and took as his chief adviser Captain James Stewart, cousin of the Earl of Arran who had formerly been proposed as a husband for Elizabeth and for Mary Stewart. This Arran was still alive; but, as he was insane, James conferred the title on his new adviser.

Arran and the king were friendly to England at this time; but, when an English noble was killed during negotiations on the Borders, Elizabeth turned against

Arran, and managed to have him replaced by persons in whom she had more confidence.

In 1586 an alliance between England and Scotland was arranged at Berwick. James's hope of succeeding peacefully to the English throne on the death of Elizabeth made him less ready to oppose England when his mother was executed in the following year, 1587.

Philip of Spain, the Guises, and the Pope hoped to be able to strike at England through Scotland, and were anxious to win the favour of James. This led to much plotting in Scotland. The way in which James was lectured and controlled by the Presbyterian ministers sometimes drove him into friendly relations with the Catholics; but the great aim of his policy was to secure his succession to the English throne, and for this object a Protestant policy was necessary—at least after the Armada had failed.

The Gowrie Conspiracy.—In 1600 there occurred the mysterious episode of the "Gowrie Conspiracy." According to James's story, the sons of the Earl of Gowrie, who had been executed in 1584, inveigled the king into a house in Perth and there threatened to kill him. James's servants heard him cry for help, rushed in, and slew the brothers Ruthven. The story was challenged at the time, and it is impossible to prove or to disprove it. The name of Ruthven was abolished by Act of Parliament, and the estates of the family confiscated to the Crown.

Changes in the Scots Church.—The history of the Scots Church during this period includes several striking changes, according as one party or the other gained the upper hand. (1) The object of *James* was to bring the Scots Church, like that of England, under the control of the Crown. The Church should be governed by bishops, and the bishops should be appointed by the king. (2) *The Presbyterian leaders*, on the other hand, desired that the Church should be absolutely free from

outside control, and should be governed by committees of its own members—which would be dominated by these leaders themselves.

The Regent Morton allowed the bishops to keep the title, but took most of the revenue of their sees for himself and his friends.

In 1581 the General Assembly at Glasgow, under the leadership of Andrew Melville, adopted Presbyterianism, condemned Episcopacy, and laid down that the State should have no authority over the Church.

After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, James adopted a more decidedly Protestant policy. In 1592, Parliament passed the "Great Charter of the Scots Presbyterian Church." It confirmed all the Acts that had been passed against the Catholics, and it legally established Presbyterianism in Scotland for the first time. But, as time went on, James's position became more secure. In 1600 he set up three bishops, and he still regarded himself as head of the Church.

JAMES A SUCCESSFUL RULER.—James did much to establish order and security in the Highlands as well as on the Borders, and also to heal the feuds which existed between many of his nobles. There was no part which he liked better to play than that of peacemaker, and his aims were generally wise and his intentions good. He had, on the whole, been a successful ruler in his own country, when, in 1603, he was called, upon Elizabeth's death, to rule over England also.

31. ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN 1603

THE COUNTRY.—At the time when the Tudor dynasty was succeeded in England by the Stewarts, the country had a population of about three millions. London, with a quarter of a million, had ten times as many people as any other town. Next to it in importance came Norwich,

the centre of the wool trade, which found a market on the Continent; and Bristol, the great western seaport, whose trade was expanding rapidly, as more and more Englishmen ventured to cross the Atlantic.

The great majority of the people did not live in towns (as they do to-day), but in the country. The powers of the country gentry or squires had been extended by the two great Acts of Elizabeth's reign: it was this class which, as Justices of the Peace, had to fix the conditions of employment and to raise money for the relief of the poor. They also tried persons who were accused of the less serious offences, and their work was supervised by Judges, who were sent out through the counties every three months to hold "Assizes."

The old feudal castle had fallen out of date since the invention of gunpowder; and, in view of the security and order which had been established in England by the Tudors, men no longer thought it necessary to be always on their guard against their neighbours. Hence, all over England fine picturesque country-houses were built, with many gables and windows, surrounded by parks and gardens, in which were often to be found strange plants and flowers, which had been brought from lands across the sea.

Next to the squire in social rank came the parish priest or parson; and then the body of yeomen and the tenant-farmers. The yeomen owned land which produced them a revenue of not less than forty shillings a year: they had the right to vote for the Knight of the Shire or Member of Parliament for their county. The tenant-farmers did not own their land, but paid rent for it. Both they and the yeomen—and also the holders of small farms worth less than forty shillings a year—employed labourers who had no land at all and depended on their wages for a livelihood.

Country life was very quiet and unexciting; but on

Sundays there was generally some sport on the village green, and special rejoicings, games and dancing on such occasions as May Day.

THE TOWNS: LONDON.—Many of the towns had long since received charters for governing themselves. In some places all the householders shared in electing members of the City Council; but more frequently the wealthy members had control of the Council, and used the revenue of the town for their own purposes. When a vacancy occurred, it was generally filled up by the councillors themselves. This system lasted till 1835, when the present system of town government was introduced.

Apprentices lived in their master's house, and worked both at making and at selling the goods. As most people could not read, the house was generally known by a sign hung out before it—a custom which survives in England only in the case of inns, and in the pole common to barbers and the three golden balls of the pawnbroker.

The streets were ill-kept, and their dirty condition frequently led to plagues which carried off thousands of the people: in 1603 there was an outbreak in London, in which 30,000 perished. Criminals were seldom caught; and, when they were caught, many were put to death for what we should now consider very trifling offences, while others were pilloried or whipped through the streets. One offence for which many people were executed in the seventeenth century was witchcraft. In spite of the Revival of Learning, it was still a superstitious age: men believed very sincerely in the Powers of Darkness, and feared that their enemies might call in the aid of Satan to harm them.

THE COURT.—The Court of Elizabeth was very gay and extravagant in outward shows. Over their enormous petticoats the ladies wore dresses embroidered with gold and silver and ornamented with jewels: the men had cloaks of silk or velvet; and both sexes alike wore round

their necks large ruffs of lace or muslin. Elizabeth herself was very fond of receiving the admiration of the people: she frequently visited London in state on horseback or by barge, and sometimes went farther afield from country-house to country-house. Masques were a favourite amusement of the Court, and every poet and dramatist was expected to pay graceful homage to the queen.

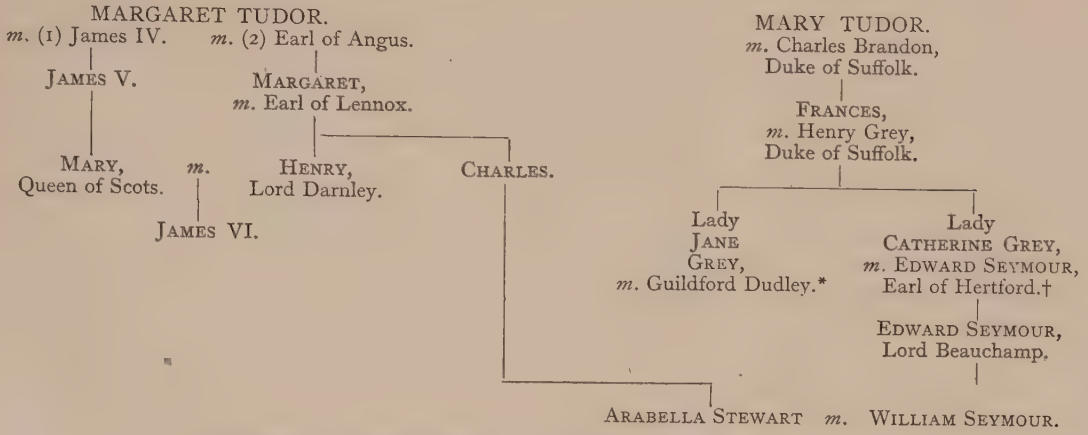
LITERATURE.—The closing years of the Elizabethan Age are glorious in literature, as well as in the heroic foundation of England's strength on and across the seas. The greatest poets of the time rose to their best after the defeat of the Armada. In 1590 Edmund Spenser began to publish his *Faerie Queen*, and in the same year the first original play by William Shakespeare was produced. For at least a quarter of a century thereafter, there was a rich output of poetic and dramatic literature in England. The nation was full of confidence in itself, and the joy of life in these "spacious times" was expressed in the freshness and vigour of its writings, as well as in the daring of the "sea-dogs" of Devon.

THE PURITANS: A GROWING SECTION OF THE PEOPLE.—There was one section of the people—a small but growing party—who disapproved of theatres and masques, and even of dancing round the maypole. These were the Puritans, whose close study of the Bible had so impressed them with the seriousness of religion and of life that they doubted whether it could be right to enjoy oneself at all, unless in a religious way.

SCOTLAND.—Progress in the lowlands of Scotland had been hampered by English wars and Border raids. The country was not yet drained, and there were many marshes and pools. Few trees had been planted, and the short leases which landowners gave to their tenants did not encourage them to make any improvements. Yet then, as now, some of the best corn-land in England or Scotland was to be found in the Lothians. Famines occurred

THE STEWARTS AND THEIR RIVALS

(After the death of Elizabeth, Henry VIII's family was extinct, and a successor had to be found from the descendants of one of his two sisters, Margaret and Mary Tudor.)


MARGARET TUDOR.
m. (1) James IV.
m. (2) Earl of Angus.
JAMES V.
MARGARET, m. Earl of Lennox.
MARY, Queen of Scots.
m.
HENRY, Lord Darnley.
CHARLES.
JAMES VI.
MARY TUDOR. m. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
FRANCES, m. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk.
Lady JANE GREY, m. Guildford Dudley.*
Lady CATHERINE GREY, m. EDWARD SEYMOUR, Earl of Hertford.†
EDWARD SEYMOUR, Lord Beauchamp.
ARABELLA STEWART m. WILLIAM SEYMOUR.

* Son of the Duke of Northumberland, rival of the Protector Somerset.
† Son of the Protector Somerset; nephew of Queen Jane (Seymour); cousin of Edward VI.

in some parts when there was a very bad harvest, but this was the case in all countries before there were good roads and means of carrying food and other articles quickly from one place to another.

As in England, the chief towns were on the east coast facing the Continent: Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Stirling, and St Andrews were all larger than the pretty village of Glasgow. The chief exports of the country were salt, fish, coarse linen and woollen cloth, and the skins of sheep, goats, and otters. In exchange for these, corn was brought from England and the Netherlands, hemp and tar from the Baltic, and wines and fruits from the south of France.

Rise of a Middle Class.—This activity in trade is an indication of the great change that was taking place in Scotland in the sixteenth century—the rise of a Middle Class. It was really by this Middle Class that the Reformation was brought about in Scotland, and the great discussions which took place on religious questions made the people think deeply. The Scots reformers took a somewhat narrow and gloomy view of religion, but they deserve much credit at least for their anxiety to improve the education of the people.

The last of the four Scots Universities—that of Edinburgh—was founded in 1582; and Scotland produced some great scholars, though few famous writers, at this time. The greatest of these was George Buchanan (1506-1582), who for eight years was tutor to James VI.

V. SETTLEMENT OF CHURCH AND STATE

32. JAMES I: THE PURITANS AND PARLIAMENT, 1603-25

HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE.—The first question which James had to settle in England was that of the position of the Puritans. James summoned a conference, which met at Hampton Court in January 1604 to discuss the Church question, and to consider whether simpler services could be established, or even tolerated, in the national Church.

But James did not come to the conference in an impartial frame of mind. He remembered how the ministers in Scotland had bullied and scolded him; and, when the Puritan leaders talked to him of a "synod"—that is, of the government of the Church by assemblies of its members—he angrily rejected their arguments, and declared that they must conform to the usages of the Church established by Elizabeth. If the Church were to be ruled by the people, so might the State be: if there were to be no bishops, no wise rulers over the Church, then it would soon come to be believed that in the State too the people could govern themselves without a wise king over them.

Many of the clergy refused to accept the king's decision, and in December 1604 three hundred of them were expelled from their livings. The Church established by Elizabeth was thus not wide enough to include all Protestants. Those who refused to "conform" were later called "Nonconformists."

In spite of this split, the Hampton Court Conference had one useful result: it gave directions for preparing the "Authorised Version" of the English Bible, which was

completed in 1611, and is still printed with the inscription, "To the Most High and Mighty Prince, James."

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.—Many Puritans went across to Holland, where they were tolerated, but were not quite happy. They came back to England, and finally sailed in 1620 in the *Mayflower*, from Plymouth in England to New Plymouth in New England.[1] They are known in history as the "Pilgrim Fathers," the pioneers of a great emigration during the next twenty years, which peopled New England with Puritans who had found the English Church too narrow for them. But what they really sought was not toleration or religious liberty, but a home where their own religion should be the established religion. In America they, too, persecuted those who were not of their way of thinking.

COLONISATION IN AMERICA.—The adventures of the English overseas in the time of Elizabeth had not resulted in the permanent foundation of a single colony; but James made peace with Spain in 1604, and only two years later a charter was issued to the "Virginia Company," which founded a colony at Jamestown on the James River, Chesapeake Bay, in May 1607.[2] The colony had a very hard struggle for some years, but its fortune was made when tobacco began to be grown and exported in large quantities. As Charles I said, its prosperity was "built on smoke."

TRADE IN THE EAST.—In the East, the East India Company secured a footing on the mainland of India at Surat, near Bombay; but they were driven out of the valuable little Spice Islands[3] farther east by the Dutch. A famous incident of the struggle was the "Massacre of

[1] New England was the part of the American coast between New France (now Canada) and New Netherland (now New York).

[2] In 1608 Quebec was founded by the French, and a few years later New York (then called New Amsterdam) by the Dutch.

[3] The Moluccas, between the Philippines and New Guinea.

Amboyna" in 1623, when eighteen Englishmen were tortured and ten of them executed, on a false charge that they had been plotting against the Dutch.

GOLDEN AGE OF THE DUTCH.—The Dutch had taken the place of the Portuguese in the East Indies: by the end of James's reign, the Dutch, the French, and the English were all beginning to cut into the Spanish Empire in the West Indies. Small as the Dutch Republic was, its ships sailed every sea and carried goods for many countries: its citizens were prosperous, energetic, and intelligent. Its University of Leyden attracted the most distinguished scholars of the day. Famous poets and thinkers, writers on law, science, and philosophy, were produced by the little republic in this its "Golden Age." The first half of the seventeenth century may well be remembered as The Age of the Dutch.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.—James at the beginning of his reign attempted to relax the laws against Roman Catholics. But the number of people who took advantage of this leniency was so alarming to the Government that the penalties for not attending the established Church were again exacted. In revenge, the more extreme Catholics in 1604 plotted to kill King, Lords, and Commons by an explosion of gunpowder at the opening of Parliament. All the preparations were successfully made; a cellar under the Parliament House was hired and gunpowder stored in it.

But it was necessary to tell the Catholic leaders in the country to be prepared to take advantage of the confusion, and to be ready to seize the government. A few days before Parliament met, one of those who had been informed sent a vague and secret warning to a friend. This led to investigations; and one of the conspirators, Guy Fawkes, was found watching beside the barrels of powder. The other plotters were caught later, and either slain on the spot or executed afterwards.

JAMES AND "DIVINE RIGHT."—James in 1604 quarrelled with Parliament. He asserted that his own power was supreme, and could not be disputed by a Parliament which held its privileges only by the favour of the king. The House of Commons boldly denied that its privileges depended on the grace or favour of the king, and claimed the right to discuss all matters that concerned the people of England.

James believed that kings were divinely appointed to govern their people: to resist the king was to resist God's deputy. His opponents held that the king was simply an official appointed in the interests of the people, and that he could command obedience only so long as he acted for their good.

PARLIAMENT AND THE STEWART KINGS. — The strength of the king's position lay in the existing law and practice: the Tudors had exercised all the powers that James desired to claim, and had done very much as they pleased. But Parliament had a greater advantage in its power to refuse to vote supplies for the Government.

The interest of the Stewart period in our history lies in the fighting out of the struggle between king and Parliament. In the end Parliament secured its objects—control over the king's advisers and their policy—because it had "the power of the purse."

James's first English Parliament met five times. It rejected the king's plan for free trade with Scotland, and for putting Scotsmen legally on the same footing as Englishmen.

JAMES'S FAVOURITES.—After the death of Cecil, James's first minister, the king was largely influenced by "favourites" rather than statesmen. Of the two courtiers who ruled England during the next sixteen years, the first, Robert Carr, who was made Earl of Somerset, brought himself into disgrace in 1616 by being concerned in a poisoning case. His successor had greater ability,

and rose to greater dignities and power. George Villiers was the younger son of a Leicestershire knight: he came to be the most intimate friend not only of James but of his son, Charles; and for him the title of Duke, which had been extinct in England since 1571, was revived. Villiers became successively Earl, Marquess, and Duke of Buckingham. Neither Carr nor Villiers believed in frequent meetings of Parliament. During the years 1611-1620 the only session was one of two months in 1614, when no laws were passed and no money was voted, so that this Parliament was known as "the Addled Parliament."

33. JAMES I: FOREIGN POLICY AND SCOTS AFFAIRS, 1603-25

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE SCHEME.—In 1604 James had made peace with Spain, and in 1609 he had helped to bring about a twelve years' truce in the war between Spain and the Dutch. In 1612 James's eldest son, Henry, died; and two years later the king began to treat with Spain for the marriage of his second son, Charles, to a Spanish princess.

James's daughter, Elizabeth, had married a Protestant German prince, Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. Frederick allowed himself to be set up as their ruler by the Protestants of Bohemia in opposition to the rightful heir, a Catholic. If Bohemia were to fall into the hands of the Protestants, it would turn the balance among the leading German powers against the Catholics: hence in 1619 a great war broke out in Germany which lasted for thirty years, and involved Spain, France, Sweden, and Denmark.

Frederick was driven out not only from Bohemia, but from his own country on the Rhine. The House of Commons wished to prepare for war on behalf of the king's son-in-law and the Protestants of Germany.

When the House of Commons asked for war with Spain and the abandonment of the marriage scheme in 1621, James reproved them for their interference; and when they protested that it was their privilege to speak freely on all subjects, he tore out the protest from the Journal of the House, and dissolved Parliament.

In 1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham went to Madrid to try to hasten on the match. They found that the Spaniards were not really in earnest, and they returned to England to tell James that his great plan could not be carried out.

They practically took the government out of his hands, and began to make ready for a war with Spain. Parliament met in 1624, and gladly voted supplies. The members hoped for a renewal of the naval triumphs of Elizabeth's reign, and were much disappointed when only a land army was raised to help to recover the Palatinate.

This army crossed to Holland under the command of a foreign adventurer, Count Ernest von Mansfeld, but it went no farther. The Dutch wished to employ it against the Spaniards, but James had forbidden direct fighting against Spain. On the other hand, the army had scanty provisions, and the Dutch would not help it on its way to the Palatinate.

Sir Walter Ralegh.—The Spanish policy to which James clung so obstinately had thus brought no good to England. It caused, too, the sacrifice of one of the heroes of the Elizabethan period, Sir Walter Ralegh. At the beginning of the reign, Ralegh had been imprisoned and condemned to death for an attempt to put James's cousin, Arabella Stewart,[1] on the throne. He frequently petitioned to be set free to go back to Guiana, which he claimed to have occupied in 1595, and to take possession of a gold mine there. In 1616 James was so much in need of money that he let Ralegh make the attempt.

[1] See table, p. 137.

Spain still maintained the right to exclude foreigners from the New World, and James was determined to keep on friendly terms with Spain. Ralegh was therefore ordered not to fight the Spaniards. Ralegh had to fight them, and he failed to find the gold mine. The Spaniards were very angry, and, to conciliate them, James had Ralegh executed under the old sentence.

Sir Francis Bacon.—A more commonplace tragedy of the reign, unconnected with the Spanish policy of James, is that of the downfall of the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon. Bacon was the most learned man of his day in England; and some people still think that he was the only Englishman capable of writing the plays which we know as Shakespeare's.

It was customary in those days for suitors in the law-courts to make presents to judges, sometimes after, and sometimes before, their decision. Bacon had taken presents; but he denied, probably truly, that he had allowed his judgement to be influenced by them. In 1621 Parliament met in an angry mood, and assailed the Chancellor. Bacon was tried by the Lords, and made incapable of holding office or sitting in Parliament.

Attempt to model Scotland on English lines.—During nearly three centuries Scotland, as the ally of France, had sought to oppose, rather than to imitate, England; but, when James VI became heir of the Tudors, he did what he could to adopt their strong orderly system in Scotland.

The State.—(1) The Tudors had put down disorder in England by means of the Privy Council and the Star Chamber: James ruled Scotland in the same way by means of his Privy Council. (2) The Tudors had won the support of the nobles by grants of the lands of the Old Church: James adopted the like policy in Scotland. (3) In England, the justices of the peace saw to the general execution of the laws, and reserved the more

serious offenders to be tried by the judges, who came round on circuit about once in every three months. In Scotland, James had justices appointed in every shire, and sent the judges round to visit them twice a year. (4) Special provision had been made by Henry VIII for such unruly and outlying districts as the northern counties and the Welsh marches. James followed this example in 1605 in the appointment of " Commissioners of the Middle Shires "—he considered that there were no " Borders " after the Union of the Crowns.

THE CHURCH.—(5) Above all, as we have already seen, James was determined, in Scotland as in England, to be head of the Church, and to control it by means of the appointment of bishops. In 1612 James at last succeeded in having Episcopacy restored by the Scots Parliament.

ORDER IN THE HIGHLANDS.—To maintain order in the Highlands, James adopted the plan of making each chief responsible for the good behaviour of his clan, and compelling him to report himself to the Privy Council from time to time. By a measure of 1610, the chiefs were required to send their eldest sons to be educated in English in the Lowlands. The Highlanders were thus won over to the side of the Crown, and long remained the most loyal supporters of the Stewarts.

SCOTS COLONISE ULSTER AND NOVA SCOTIA.—Scotland had a slight share in the colonising movements of the day. In 1610, after the suppression of a rebellion in Ireland three years before, a number of Scots and English were planted in Ulster partly to try to introduce a higher civilisation. The Scots element proved very strong, and has influenced the character of Ulster until the present day.

Further, in 1621 a patent for the colonisation of New Scotland or Nova Scotia was given to a Scots poet and statesman, Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of

Stirling, but the colony made little progress till much later.

PROSPERITY IN SCOTLAND.—Trade flourished, and the king and his Council did much to encourage manufactures at home. "In no previous reign was so notable an advance made along every line of national prosperity."

But when James died in March, he left to his son in England a quarrel with Parliament, a quarrel with the Puritans, and a war for which he had not obtained adequate supplies.

34. CHARLES I: BUCKINGHAM'S WARS; THE SUSPENSION OF PARLIAMENT, 1625-38

TROUBLE WITH PARLIAMENT.—When he succeeded to the throne, Charles I was preparing to marry Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII of France. As he knew that the people would not approve of a Catholic match, he did not summon Parliament until after the marriage had taken place. Because of the delay in meeting Parliament, Charles was unable to send supplies to Mansfeld's army in Holland, and many of the soldiers died. The king also angered his subjects by lending English ships to his brother-in-law, Louis of France, who used them against his Protestant subjects, the Huguenots of La Rochelle.

The Commons when they met refused to vote supplies for the war, and they criticised the conduct of Charles's favourite, Buckingham. The king tried to please his subjects by making a raid on Cadiz, but the attempt failed completely.

IMPEACHMENT OF BUCKINGHAM.—When Parliament was summoned again in 1626, Charles had to ask for supplies for two wars, for he had quarrelled with the French king about the conditions of the marriage treaty. As, however, he was determined to entrust the conduct

of both wars to no one but Buckingham, Parliament was equally determined to vote no money for the favourite to squander. To get rid of him, the Commons prepared articles of impeachment, but Charles dissolved Parliament.

The war with France did not actually begin till the next year. In the summer of 1627 Buckingham again attempted to win the support of the people by the policy of a Protestant war—a sort of crusade to help the Huguenots of La Rochelle against the French Government. The expedition met with no success, and Buckingham returned to England in November after losing half of his 6000 men.

Charles tried to raise money by demanding a *loan* from his subjects. But there were many refusals, and Charles attempted to enforce payment by *imprisoning* those who were most obstinate. To keep the soldiers alive, Charles had to compel private citizens to give them food and lodging; this was called *billeting*. To prevent the ill-paid troops from deserting and plundering, the king had to enforce *martial law*, which was applied even to civilians.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT.—In March 1628 Charles met his third Parliament. The House of Commons seized the opportunity to purchase the redress of the nation's grievances in return for a grant of supplies. They offered the king about £350,000, provided he would abandon the practices mentioned in the previous paragraph. In June Charles gave his assent. The abuses which were abolished by the "Petition of Right" were:—

(1) The exaction of taxes, gifts, or loans without the consent of Parliament.

(2) The imprisonment of Englishmen without due legal proceedings.

(3) The billeting of soldiers in private houses.

(4) The proclamation of martial law in time of peace.

The struggle was not at an end when Charles accepted the Petition of Right. The Commons at once followed it up by asking for Buckingham's removal. The king would not consent, but the dispute was ended by the murder of the duke as he was about to set out on a second expedition to La Rochelle.

TUNNAGE AND POUNDAGE.—When the third Parliament met for another session in 1629, it had new grievances to bring forward. Parliament had not granted Charles the ordinary customs duties for life (as was the usual practice), but for one year only. The duties had not been specially mentioned in the Petition of Right, and the king continued to levy them, refusing to admit that it was in the power of Parliament to restrict the payment to a limited period.

BISHOP LAUD.—Besides this, Charles had a new adviser whom the Commons distrusted as much as Buckingham. Most of the Commons were Puritans, anxious for simplicity in religious observances; but the king's new favourite, William Laud, whom he had just made Bishop of London, desired to preserve the old ceremonies, and was suspected by many of wishing to reconcile the English Church to Rome.

When Parliament began to discuss these matters, Charles sent messengers to adjourn the Houses. But some members of the Commons held the Speaker in the Chair, while three resolutions were passed, declaring that anyone who should bring in changes in religion tending to Popery, and anyone advising the collection of customs duties not voted by Parliament, or paying such duties, should be deemed an enemy of England and its liberties.

THE STAR CHAMBER.—Charles now applied to his legal advisers, especially to William Noye, who afterwards became Attorney-General, to devise means of raising money without the consent of Parliament. This he did by reviving some obsolete fines which formerly had been paid to the Crown.

Opposition to the Government was crushed by the Star Chamber. The Government was the King and his Privy Council: the Star Chamber was composed of the same members as the Privy Council, with the addition of the two Chief Justices. Thus the same people both issued orders and judged and punished offences against them. The Star Chamber dealt with offences of all sorts; and it inflicted cruel and vindictive punishments, such as whipping, branding, and the pillory.

THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION.—The conflict between the High Churchmen and the Puritans grew more and more bitter. Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, wished to unite the whole Church in worshipping in the way he thought most seemly. The Puritans determined to follow the simpler ways which they approved.

Laud was not willing to tolerate differences, and, in order to punish his most outspoken opponents, he made use of a court which had been set up in Elizabeth's reign to deal with ecclesiastical offences, the Court of High Commission. Pressure was brought to bear on clergymen to make them adopt the ritual and ceremonies which Laud thought necessary as an aid to worship, and secret meetings or "conventicles" held by the Puritans were put down. No books were allowed to be published without the consent of an archbishop, or of the Bishop of London; and ministers dared not express their views freely in the pulpit.

One result of this policy was the emigration of 20,000 Puritans in twelve years to America, where the great colony of Massachusetts Bay (with its capital at Boston) was founded in 1629.

Year after year Charles was able to continue his unpopular policy. He was forced to live very economically; and England played no part in the affairs of Europe, where the great Thirty Years' War between Catholics

and Protestants was being fought out; while by sea the English were far outstripped by the Dutch. The country generally was, however, prosperous and at peace.

SHIP MONEY.—In 1637 a famous case of "passive resistance" was tried in the law-courts. In order to build a fleet Charles had revived an old tax, called "Ship-Money." At first it was raised only from the seaports, but later it was collected in the inland counties also. As England was at peace, it was argued that there was no urgent necessity that could justify the king in raising such a tax without consulting Parliament. John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, refused to pay. The case was tried before twelve judges, and only a bare majority declared in favour of the king. The judges, too, declared that no Act of Parliament could take away the king's power to employ the goods and persons of his subjects for the defence of the kingdom.

It was seen that Charles needed only peace abroad and an army at home to make himself free from control by the law or by the people in Parliament. But the English people knew that he had no army; and he was not to enjoy peace much longer. It was in Scotland that resistance began, and we must now see how Scotland had fared during these thirteen years.

35. CHARLES I: THE SCOTS WARS LEAD TO THE MEETING OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT AGAIN, 1625-40

CHARLES AND THE SCOTS.—Charles I inherited James's belief in "the Divine Right of Kings," and this brought him into difficulties with the Scots from the beginning. He could fill the Privy Council with his friends, but the Scots would not allow their government to be entirely modelled on English lines. Charles did not

succeed in his attempt to set up a Scots Star Chamber—" the Commission for Grievances."

In order to make the Scots Church rich and powerful and to give dignity to its bishops, Charles thought it necessary to restore the property which had belonged to the Church before the Reformation. He managed in 1625 to get an Act passed for taking back all Church and Crown lands which had been given away since 1542 —" the Act of Revocation."

By this measure the king lost the support of the nobles who had shared in the spoils of the Church, and the party of the bishops, whose support he had won, was neither strong nor popular.

Changes in the Church in Scotland.—In the summer of 1633 Charles spent five weeks in Edinburgh, and held a Parliament. " The Lords of the Articles," the Committee which discussed the laws proposed, was chosen in such a way that the king could secure the appointment of his friends. When Parliament met to accept the Bills recommended by the Committee, Charles watched the voting closely. By some means or other he managed to secure a small majority, and 168 new Acts became law. The laws of James and Charles about Church matters were confirmed, and a liberal supply of money was granted to the king.

Laud's Liturgy.—Charles had still two steps to take in bringing the Scots Church into line with the English. In 1636 a Book of Canons was introduced, asserting the authority of the king and the bishops in the government of the Church, and directing the clergy how to conduct services.

The last step was the prescribing of a form of words to be used in the Church services—a " Liturgy." This service book was prepared by Archbishop Laud. The new form of worship was used for the first time in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, in 1637. The service was

soon interrupted by the people, who shouted down the dean and chased the bishop home with a shower of stones.

Petitions were now addressed to the Council from all parts of Scotland, asking that the service book should be withdrawn. When Charles refused to yield, the petitioners organised themselves for strong resistance.

NATIONAL COVENANT, AND THE FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH.—Charles still stood firm, and threatened those who resisted with the penalties of treason. This forced the opposition leaders to form a " bond " or " covenant " to stand by one another in support of the ways of the Scots Church as it had been more than half a century before, when Andrew Melville headed its opposition to the Catholics and bishops. In February 1638 this " National Covenant " was signed by people of all classes in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. The bishops began to fear for their safety, and most of them sought refuge in England.

In the summer, Charles sent James, Marquess of Hamilton, to Scotland as Royal Commissioner to pacify the country. The General Assembly met nevertheless at Glasgow in November 1638, and proceeded to depose the bishops, to abolish the High Commission Court, and to repeal the changes made in the Church by James and Charles.

FIRST BISHOPS' WAR.—The Covenanters had defied Charles, but the king would not give way without a struggle. In the beginning of 1639 both parties prepared for war.

Charles would not venture to meet the English Parliament to ask for supplies ; and so, instead of leading a strong and well-equipped English army, he had to force into his service a mob of raw recruits, many of whom really sympathised with the Scots. The latter, on the other hand, were united, enthusiastic, and well led by officers who had been trained in the Protestant armies

of Europe during the Thirty Years' War. Their commander-in-chief was Alexander Leslie, who had seen much service under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and had been made a Field-Marshal in 1636.

Charles knew that he was not strong enough to fight, so he agreed to summon the Scots Parliament and a General Assembly to meet in August.

Instead of attending the meetings of these bodies, Charles returned to London. In his absence the Assembly repeated the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly of November 1638, and ordered that the whole of the Scots people should take the Covenant. Charles's representative accepted all the measures of the Assembly; but he refused to confirm Acts against Episcopacy which had been passed by the Scots Parliament, and in November that body was dissolved amid general discontent.

THE SHORT PARLIAMENT.—In the spring of 1640 Charles summoned the English Parliament (which had not met since 1629) to provide him with supplies for renewing the war with Scotland. The English Parliament, when it met, began to discuss its grievances, and did nothing to help the king; after three weeks Charles dissolved "the Short Parliament."

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD.—After his first unsuccessful expedition against the Scots, the king had called to his aid Thomas Wentworth, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, who had distinguished himself there by strong, stern government, which has earned in history the name of "Thorough." He was made Earl of Strafford in 1640. Though he was successful in raising funds among the Catholics of Ireland, he was unable to induce the English Parliament to make a grant.

SECOND WAR WITH THE SCOTS.—Money was now collected by the king's orders by forcing the wealthy citizens of London to subscribe to a loan. In order to raise troops, it was necessary to "impress" men by

force. In August the Scots crossed the Tweed and defeated the king's forces at Newburn, near Newcastle. Charles saw that it was hopeless for him to fight. He held a meeting of the peers, who appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots, and recommended that Parliament be summoned to meet in November. The Scots army did not return home till August 1641.

Strafford had done all that was possible during his year of office in England; but the whole opinion of the country was against him. He wished to remain in Yorkshire, awaiting another opportunity of striking a blow for the king, but Charles unwisely ordered him to London. Strafford was an able man; but his ability made it all the more necessary to put him out of the way. Parliament began its work by sending Strafford and Archbishop Laud to the Tower, while others of Charles's advisers fled to the Continent. The royal power, which Charles had sought to make absolute, was left without any defenders in England.

36. THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE CIVIL WAR (TO THE CREATION OF THE NEW MODEL ARMY), 1640-5.

GREAT ACTS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—The parliament which met in November 1640 became famous later as "the Long Parliament."

(1) A "Triennial Act" was passed providing that *Parliament* should meet at least once in every three years, and should sit for at least fifty days unless the Houses themselves agreed to be prorogued or dissolved.

(2) Parliament declared that Charles's *ways of raising money* without the consent of Parliament were illegal. Ship-money and customs duties not voted by Parliament, and attempts to revive ancient fines and exactions—all of these were henceforth illegal.

(3) The government had been conducted during the unparliamentary years 1629-40 by the Privy Council, whose orders were enforced by *the Star Chamber* and the Council of the North. The Star Chamber and the Council of the North were now abolished.

(4) As the Opposition leaders could not prove *Strafford* guilty of treason in a way that would satisfy any court of justice, they passed through Parliament an *Act of Attainder* declaring him guilty and worthy of death. The London mob swarmed round Whitehall demanding that the king should give his assent to the Act. Influenced by the danger to his wife and children, Charles at length gave way, and the most heroic of his supporters perished on the scaffold.

(5) The government of *the Church* by the king and the bishops was attacked. The Court of High Commission was abolished, and it was even proposed to do away with bishops and with the Prayer Book.

CHARLES AND THE CHURCH: THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE.—The attempt to force a prayer book on the Scots had been the occasion of the revolt against Charles in the north: the attempt to abolish it in England caused a division in the ranks of his opponents, and enabled the king to become the leader of a strong party, the defenders of the Church of England as established by law.

In August the king had gone to Scotland to meet his Parliament there. While Charles was in Edinburgh, a plot for kidnapping the Presbyterian leaders was discovered. This aroused so much indignation that it destroyed any chance the king could have had of finding supporters in Scotland. The affair is known in Scots history as "the Incident."

The English Parliament met again on 20th October, and a few days later news arrived that the Catholics in Ireland had risen and massacred the Protestants. Parliament was afraid that Charles was seeking help in Scotland

and even in Catholic Ireland, that in London, as in Edinburgh, he might attempt to kidnap the leaders of the opposition.

These leaders drew up a long list of complaints against Charles; and proposed (1) that his ministers should be such as were trusted by Parliament; and (2) that an assembly of divines should meet to settle the question of the Church. This was known as "the Grand Remonstrance." It was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of only 11 votes, three days before Charles returned from his unsuccessful visit to Scotland.

CHARLES AND THE "FIVE MEMBERS."—But Charles had not yet learned moderation. On 3rd January 1642, the Attorney-General, by Charles's orders, impeached five of the Opposition leaders before the House of Lords. This was irregular, for impeachment means prosecution not by the Crown but by the House of Commons. The Lords therefore declined to order the arrest of the members.

Next day Charles himself marched from Whitehall Palace to Westminster with a body of troops, stationed the soldiers at the door of the House of Commons, and entered to demand the surrender of John Pym, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, Arthur Hazelrigg, and William Strode. But "the five members" had been warned in time, and none of them was present. Charles had not been able to strike home: he had only put Parliament on its guard.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—Countryfolk swarmed in to join the townspeople in protecting Parliament. Seeing that London was overwhelmingly hostile to him, Charles left Whitehall in January 1642, and went north to York to prepare for war. Thereupon the Houses called out the militia by bills which they treated as Acts of Parliament without asking for the king's consent.

Eight months were spent in preparing for the struggle.

Charles sent the queen to the Continent to seek help, and brought over to lead his cavalry his nephew Rupert, son of Frederick, the unfortunate Elector Palatine. In order to raise money, he and his friends had to sell their jewels and plate.

Parliament was in a much stronger position, even though a number of its members—perhaps one-third of the Commons and nearly two-thirds of the Lords—took the side of the king. London was enthusiastic for the cause of Parliament; and the navy was brought over by the Puritan Lord Admiral, the Earl of Warwick. Parliament could thus draw upon the wealth of the London merchants and upon the customs duties collected at the ports, which were commanded by the fleet.

CIVIL WAR BEGUN.—In August 1642 Charles moved south to Nottingham and there raised his standard. The Earl of Essex, who had been appointed commander of the Parliamentary forces, marched to the Welsh borders, where Charles was finding many recruits for his army. The king took the opportunity to move towards London, but on 23rd October turned to offer battle at Edgehill in Warwickshire. Neither side could force a decisive victory.

Charles occupied Oxford, where he made his headquarters for the next three years. He made an attempt on London in November 1642, but the city militia turned out in such force that the Royalists did not venture to attack them.

1643.—In 1643 Charles besieged Gloucester. The town was so hard pressed that the London militia marched across the country to its relief. The Royalists abandoned the siege, and attempted unsuccessfully to cut off the Puritan army on its way back to London. In September 1643 John Pym (one of the five members) brought the Scots again into alliance with the English rebels. An assembly of divines was meeting at Westminster to consider the reform of Church discipline and

ceremonies,[1] and it was the prospect of the establishment of Presbyterianism in England that attracted the Scots into an alliance with Parliament. The price of the alliance was a vague promise to establish religion in England according to " the example of the best reformed churches " —which, to the Scots at least, meant Presbyterianism. The compact is known as " the Solemn League and Covenant."

SCOTS INVADE ENGLAND: MARSTON MOOR, 1644.—A Scots army invaded England in January .1644, and completely altered the balance in the northern counties. Another powerful force which had been raised and trained in the eastern counties about the Wash by Oliver Cromwell, M.P. for Cambridge, was ordered to co-operate with General Fairfax and the Scots. The Royalists under Newcastle were shut up and besieged in York.

Charles saw the importance of saving York, and Prince Rupert was hurried north to relieve the town. He succeeded in this without fighting; but he had no desire to avoid an engagement, and on the evening of 2nd July 1644, the greatest battle of the war was fought a few miles west of York, at Marston Moor. In some parts of the field the Royalists were successful for a time, but in the end they were routed by the charge of Cromwell's cavalry, who earned the nickname of " Ironsides." York and the whole of the north of England were lost to the king.

In the west, however, the Royalists achieved a distinct success over the Earl of Essex, the main body of whose army had to surrender.

THE NEW MODEL ARMY AND OLIVER CROMWELL.—Thus the campaign of 1644 left the issue still undecided; but in the winter the Puritan army was reorganised on

[1] The Westminster Assembly (1643-9) prepared the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, and the metrical version of the Psalms, which are used in the Scots Presbyterian Church.

a better footing, with able leaders, strict discipline, and regular pay (" The New Model Army "). Its Commander-in-Chief was Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell was appointed Lieutenant-General and leader of the cavalry.

From this time there began to grow up a division between Parliament and the Army. Parliament had led the Scots to believe that Presbyterianism would be set up in England ; the Army, on the other hand, contained men of all sects, and an " Independent " spirit prevailed which could not endure the establishment of any form of Church government by Parliament. Before long, the great cavalry leader, Cromwell, was recognised as the ablest leader of the Army in religious as well as in military matters.

37. KING, PARLIAMENT, AND ARMY, 1645-9

KING'S CAUSE LOST AT NASEBY.—In 1644 the king had lost his northern army : in a single month in 1645, both the central and the south-western armies were ruined. (1) In June Fairfax, the commander of the New Model Army, met the king's forces at Naseby in Northamptonshire, and through the brilliant success of Cromwell's Ironsides won a complete victory.

After Naseby Fairfax at once went on to Somerset, routed Lord Goring, and captured the Royalist stores at Bridgwater. For the remainder of the year, Fairfax was engaged in besieging Royalist towns and country houses.

MONTROSE'S CAREER : PHILIPHAUGH.—After this defeat, the king had still one victorious army—in Scotland. In 1644, after Marston Moor, James Graham, Earl of Montrose, who had joined Charles in 1641, was sent to Scotland as the king's representative. He took command of a force which had been sent over from Ireland : a number of Highland clansmen also joined him in order

to strike a blow at the power of the Campbells, whose chief, the Marquess of Argyle, was the leader of the Covenanters.

As the result of two victories in September 1644, Montrose took Perth and Aberdeen. In the winter he ravaged the country of the Campbells (Argyleshire). In the spring he took Dundee, and marching south won the greatest of his victories at Kilsyth, between Stirling and Glasgow. But, when he sought to push farther south, many of the Highlanders deserted with the booty they had already won. On the other side, a Scots army returned from England. At Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, Montrose, who was left with only 1700 men, was surprised by David Leslie, with three times his numbers. The Covenanters gave no quarter, and very few of the enemy escaped with Montrose to the Highlands.

CHARLES SURRENDERS TO THE SCOTS.—All hope for Charles from Scotland was thus extinguished. From Ireland no further aid could come, for the Puritans had command of the sea. By the middle of 1646 Cornwall and Devon and even Oxford itself had submitted to the Puritans.

In May 1646 Charles surrendered to the Scots army, which was then besieging Newark in Nottinghamshire. The Scots withdrew to Newcastle with the king, and a long period of negotiating began.

The terms proposed by the Scots at Newcastle were (1) that Presbyterianism should be established; and (2) that Parliament should have command of the militia and the navy for twenty years. The utmost that Charles would grant (in September) was (1) that Presbyterianism should be set up for three years, while king and Parliament should determine what was to be done thereafter; and (2) that he would give up the control of the militia for his lifetime on condition that it should then revert to the Crown.

CHARLES HANDED OVER TO ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.—As the Scots could not accept these conditions, they handed Charles over to commissioners appointed by Parliament, received payment for their expenses in the war, and retired to their own country.

The Presbyterian Parliament failed to turn its success to good account. The use of the Anglican Church service was forbidden, and heavy fines were exacted from those who were suspected of sympathising with the king. At the end of 1646 it was proposed to persecute other sects; and in the spring of 1647 the New Model Army was ordered to disband without being paid.

The Independents and members of other sects (of whom there were many in the Army), felt that the tyranny of a Presbyterian Parliament might be as intolerable as that of an Episcopalian king. Cromwell, who now appears as the leader of the "Independent" Army against the Presbyterian Parliament, managed by a sudden stroke to get Charles into his hands. The soldiers then advanced to London, and eleven of the Presbyterian leaders were expelled from Parliament.

THE ARMY IN POWER.—The Army now had the supreme power to settle the government of England, and some of their "democratic" ideas were, (1) that all men should have equal opportunities, and should make or mar their fortunes by their own efforts, not by the accident of their birth and the class to which their parents belonged; (2) that all the citizens of a state should have a voice in the making of its laws; (3) that no attempt should be made to interfere with the sincere and honest views of any man about religion, if they did not tend to Popery.

Discussions as to a modified form of government were still in progress, when the king escaped to the Isle of Wight, and appealed for aid to the Scots and the English Presbyterians.

SECOND CIVIL WAR.—Charles found many supporters

in Scotland, in Wales, and in Essex. But, before they had time to gain strength the Welshmen were attacked by Cromwell, and the men of Essex by Fairfax. Both the Puritan leaders were successful; and Cromwell accomplished his task in time to cope with the greatest danger —the advance of the Scots.

The king had promised the Scots, if he were restored, to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, to put down the other sects, and to confirm the Covenant by Act of Parliament. The Scots Parliament demanded that the English should set the king free, disband the Army, and establish Presbyterianism.

But the people of Scotland were divided in their sympathies, and even the troops that were sent across the border were only half-hearted in the king's defence. A few weeks later the Scots forces were cut to pieces by Cromwell at Preston, Wigan, and Warrington. The Royalist prisoners were exiled to the West Indies, where they were employed on sugar plantations as the servants of prosperous English colonists. Thus ended "the Second Civil War," in which the Presbyterians had tried to help the king against the Independents of the New Model Army.

PRIDE'S PURGE.—Parliament at once hastened to make terms with the king; but the Army was now resolved to take the affair into its own hands. In December 1648 London was occupied by the soldiers, and more than half of the members of the House of Commons were turned out by Colonel Pride, leaving less than a hundred to carry out the wishes of the Army—("Pride's Purge").

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.—In the first days of 1649, King and Lords were abolished, and a Republic or Commonwealth took the place of the monarchy in England. "The people," it was resolved, "are, under God, the original of all just power. . . . The Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and

representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation."

A Commission of 135 members was now appointed to try Charles as being the guilty cause of all the desolation of the war. The king protested that the Court had no authority to try him, and asked to be heard before the Lords and Commons. The Court, however, after a two days' trial, passed sentence of death upon "Charles Stewart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation." Only fifty-eight of the members of the Commission could be induced to sign the death-warrant.

Three days later, on 30th January, Charles was beheaded in front of Whitehall Palace. His death was not demanded or approved by the people. The new government by "the people" had begun with an act which caused it to lose the goodwill and confidence of the people.

38. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH, 1649-53

Cromwell and Ireland.—An English Army had put to death the King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the American colonies. The Army had now to reckon with the Royalists of Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies, before it could settle down to think about the constitution of a government without King or Lords.

In Ireland, Cromwell took Drogheda and Wexford, and massacred the garrison and many of the townspeople. Yet, even if this extreme severity induced some towns to surrender more quickly, enough remained obstinate to occupy Cromwell in Leinster till the next summer, and his lieutenants for two years longer.

Cromwell's scheme for the settlement of Irish affairs was to plant English Protestants in the country in order

to introduce a higher civilisation—the policy which had been put in practice in Ulster by James I. Cromwell granted land all over Ireland, save in the unconquered west, to his soldiers. The poorer men often sold their land to their officers; and even the officers did not remain in the country, but became a class of absentee landlords, whose only interest in the land was to obtain the largest possible rent from the needy Irish peasants. The land was often sub-let, and profits had to be found for several grades of landlords at the expense of the poor cultivator. This arrangement lasted almost to our own day, and helps to account for the bitterness with which many Irishmen regard the treatment of their country by the English Government.

CROMWELL AND SCOTLAND: DUNBAR. — While Cromwell was busy in Ireland in the spring of 1650, Montrose had led a forlorn hope for the young Prince Charles in the north of Scotland. Charles had taken refuge in the Dutch town of Breda; and, at the very time when Montrose was trying to raise troops to attack the Scots Presbyterians, the prince came to terms with them and agreed to take the Covenant. Montrose met with no success in Scotland: he was captured in Ross-shire, and executed in Edinburgh in 1650.

A month later Charles landed at Speymouth, after signing the two Covenants, *i.e.*, swearing to establish Presbyterianism both in Scotland and in England. He did this to gain the support of the Presbyterian leaders, but the latter never really trusted the Royalists.

Cromwell returned from Ireland in May and marched north to Edinburgh in July 1650. There he was unable to force a battle, and withdrew along the coast.

At Dunbar he was hemmed in by the Scots, who occupied high ground commanding the English position. The Presbyterian ministers insisted on directing operations, discharged a number of Royalist troops, and

induced their general to advance to the lower ground. Had the Scots maintained their position on the hills, Cromwell would have had little choice but to attempt to embark his army and escape by sea, during which process the Scots could have attacked with much greater advantage. Having abandoned their superior position, the Scots were completely defeated by Cromwell's seasoned troops (3rd September 1650). The English general was then able to occupy Edinburgh, and devoted the following months to securing his mastery over the south of Scotland.

SCOTLAND SUBDUED.—The Scots made Perth their headquarters; and on 1st January 1651 Charles was crowned at Scone by the Marquess of Argyle. In July Cromwell crossed into Fife; but the Scots, instead of venturing to meet him, made a dash into England in the hope of attracting support there.

Cromwell left General George Monk to conquer the north of Scotland, while he himself set out in pursuit of the Scots army, which made for the Welsh border, a Royalist district, by way of Carlisle and Warrington. Few recruits joined the Scots, and at Worcester they suffered a complete defeat at the hands of Cromwell. The young prince escaped to the Continent.

Scotland was made part of the Commonwealth, and Charles's three kingdoms were at the feet of Cromwell.

PRINCE RUPERT AND BLAKE.—After the execution of Charles I. his nephew, Prince Rupert, the famous cavalry leader, reappeared in the new rôle of naval commander or pirate, preying upon the seaborne trade of the people who had killed their king. But Rupert met an equally daring captain at the head of England's powerful navy—Robert Blake, who had also fought well on land in the Civil War. Blake pursued Rupert from the shores of Ireland to those of Portugal, and round into the Mediterranean. When he reached Toulon

at the end of 1650, Rupert had only two ships left; but he obtained three more, and held out for two years longer, visiting the west coat of Africa and the West Indies before his little squadron was finally broken up in 1653.

ENGLAND TRIUMPHS OVER THE DUTCH.—Cromwell desired to strengthen England's power at sea, so that she should have nothing to fear from across the water. For this purpose, the "Rump" of the Long Parliament in 1651 passed a bill declaring that no goods should be imported into English territory save in ships belonging to English subjects or to the country of origin of the goods —*i.e.*, no third state was to be paid for carrying home the goods which English people bought abroad. Now, at that time the Dutch had built up their prosperity by means of this carrying trade; and "the Navigation Act" of 1651 affected them seriously. Within seven months England and Holland were at war.

The war lasted three years, and there were three considerable sea fights: (1) off Dungeness, in November 1652, when Van Tromp beat Blake; (2) off Portland, in February 1653, when the English had the better of matters, but the Dutch withdrew without much loss; (3) off the Texel, in July 1653, when the English won a great and crushing victory, although their own loss was over a thousand men. In the end the Dutch had now to agree to the terms of peace, to acknowledge the supremacy of England at sea, and to accept the provisions of the Navigation Act.

In 1655 Blake put an end to interference with traders in the Mediterranean by destroying a pirate fleet off Tunis.

ATTACK ON SPANISH COLONIES AND SEA-POWER.—Spain at this time still claimed the right to exclude all other nations from trading with the West Indies. Cromwell attempted in a friendly way to secure for Englishmen the right to trade with the Spanish colonies; when

this was refused he went to war. He failed to take Hispaniola, but captured Jamaica.

In April 1657 Blake won another great victory, when he destroyed a Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz in the Canary Islands. It was his last battle, for he died just before his fleet arrived home at Plymouth.

THE ARMY SUPREME.—The Army wished Parliament to be dissolved, but the remaining members would not surrender their power. Cromwell marched down with a troop of soldiers and angrily turned them out.

He then summoned an assembly nominated by the officers of the army and the leading members of the Independent or Congregationalist section of the Puritans. This body, however, depended entirely on the Army, and merely tried to carry out the wishes of the Puritan soldiers.

A few months were sufficient to show that such a government could do no lasting good, and the members surrendered their power to Cromwell. This left England in the hands of the Army.

39. THE PROTECTORATE, 1654-60

CROMWELL AND HIS PARLIAMENTS.—The Council of Officers had a new constitution ready—"the Instrument of Government." There was to be a Lord Protector (Cromwell); with a Council, and an elected House of Commons, including thirty representatives each from Scotland and Ireland, as well as 400 from England.

The first Parliament under the Protector sat from September 1654 till January 1655. The members attacked the Instrument of Government, holding that they, as the representatives of the people, had a better right than the Army to draw up a Constitution. They thought that too much power was left to Cromwell and his Council; and they were not prepared to allow liberty of conscience

to those who thought differently from themselves about religion.

In 1655 Cromwell recognised that, though the Army could continue to control the Government, it had not the goodwill of the country to support it. To preserve the peace and secure obedience to the Government, he had to enforce Puritan discipline by appointing military officers ("the Major-Generals") to govern eleven districts into which England was divided for the purpose. Hundreds of ale-houses were closed, and many amusements of the people—such as horse-racing, cock-fighting, and bear-baiting—were prohibited, chiefly because of the risk of sedition spreading among the crowds. Special taxes were still exacted from wealthy Royalists.

THE "HUMBLE PETITION AND ADVICE."—By the autumn of 1656 everyone was tired of this severity. Another Parliament was summoned, and government by the major-generals was abandoned. A feeling was growing up in favour of returning as far as possible to the old system of government; and, from fear of this tendency, more than 100 of the 455 members were not allowed to take their seats.

In the spring of 1657 a new constitution was drawn up, by which it was proposed to make Cromwell king. This was presented to him under the title of a "Humble Petition and Advice." After consideration, Cromwell, in view of the hostile feeling of the officers, refused the title of King, but accepted that of Protector, with the right of naming his successor. There was now to be once more a House of Lords.

When the constitution of the "Humble Petition" came into force, Parliament was at once adjourned by Cromwell. It met for another session in January 1658—with the addition of the new House of Lords and of the hundred members who had been excluded in 1656. Cromwell's party in the House of Commons was thus

doubly weakened—by the promotion of his friends to the House of Lords, and by the admission of his enemies. The democrats attacked the second chamber so persistently that Cromwell dissolved Parliament.

Cromwell remained Protector and ruler of England not by the will of the people, but by his own ability and the strength of the Army.

England's Power Abroad.—But, if the difficulties at home could not be overcome, the Puritans had at least made the reputation of England in war very different from what it had been thirty years before in the days of Buckingham. From 1655, the year of the taking of Jamaica, England was on friendly terms with France and hostile to Spain. In 1658 Dunkirk, a strong place on the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, was taken by the French and English, and was kept by England.

Within three months after this success Cromwell died on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester—3rd September. He had saved England not only from the tyranny of Charles and Laud, but also from the anarchy that would have been introduced by the extreme men of his own party. He made England strong; he could not make it contented.

Cromwell's Weak Successor.—Oliver Cromwell, the great leader of the Army, was succeeded as Protector by his son Richard, a respectable but very ordinary man of thirty-three, who was neither a soldier nor a statesman. The Republicans, who had always opposed the power of the Protector, now tried to set the Army against Richard. After eight months of troubled rule Richard retired, to live in obscurity for fifty-three years longer. England was again governed by a single House—and the Army.

General Monk.—The Parliament and the Army could not agree. General Monk, who was commanding the troops in Scotland, took the side of Parliament—that is, of civil, not of military, government. As he moved

south into England, General Lambert went north to meet him ; and a long time was spent in a vain endeavour to come to some agreement. In December 1659 the Rump was again restored ; but Monk had broken off the negotiations, and continued his march to London.

It was at last decided to clear the way for a new assembly freely elected by the people. The Long Parliament of Charles I was called together again only to dissolve itself, and on 25th April a newly elected assembly met. Because it was not summoned by a King, it is generally called not a Parliament but a Convention.

THE RESTORATION.—Meanwhile Monk had secretly advised Charles to offer a general pardon and religious toleration. Charles came to Holland, and on the 4th of April, by "the Declaration of Breda," he promised to grant these points so far as Parliament itself should desire. On 1st May a letter from Charles was read in the Convention, and it was resolved that the government should be by King, Lords, and Commons. A week later Charles was proclaimed King, and on his thirtieth birthday, 29th May 1660, he entered London in state.

40. CLARENDON THE CHURCHMAN ; THE CABAL AND TOLERATION : 1660-73

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED.—The Convention continued to sit for some time after Charles's return and settled the most urgent political questions of the day. Persons who had taken part in the condemnation of Charles I were excepted from the general pardon, and thirteen of them were put to death. The Army was paid off and peacefully disbanded, with the exception of a few of Monk's troops, who were kept to guard against any rising of the Republicans.

The revenue which was provided for the king was not enough to meet his expenses : so that Charles would have

to summon Parliament frequently to ask for supplies and at the same time to listen to their grievances. Instead of the royal income from feudal rights over Crown lands, an excise duty was imposed on beer and spirits. Thus, while the landowners still kept their old superior rank and dignity as Lords of the Manor, they escaped from their old feudal obligations at the expense of other people.

In the spring of 1661 a new Parliament was elected, which was so enthusiastically Royalist that it is known as " the Cavalier Parliament." As Charles did not expect that he would ever find another parliament as friendly, he kept this one for eighteen years.

CLARENDON'S SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH.—Its first task was to settle the question of the Church. The king's chief adviser was Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, a moderate man in politics, not unfriendly to Parliament, but in Church matters a very strong Episcopalian. Under his influence four laws were passed in the next five years which shut out the Puritans not only from the narrow Church of England, but also from many privileges in public and private life.

The four measures of " the Clarendon Code " were :—

(1) *The Corporation Act*, 1661, by which membership of a town corporation—without which no one could share in the government of the town—was confined to such as should take the Sacrament according to the Church of England, and should declare that the Solemn League and Covenant was an unlawful oath.

(2) *The Act of Uniformity*, 1662, by which clergymen had to be ordained according to the rites of the Church of England, and to declare their acceptance of everything in the Prayer Book. This led to the resignation of 2000 Presbyterian ministers who had obtained livings during the Puritan period.

(3) *The Conventicle Act*, 1664, which forbade meetings

for public worship under forms other than those of the Church of England. Services were made illegal if more than four persons were present besides those who belonged to the house where the meeting was held.

(4) *The Five Mile Act*, 1665, which forbade any ejected minister or teacher to come within five miles of any town where he had previously preached or taught.

CHARLES AND SPAIN.—Abroad, there were two Powers which had suffered at the hands of the Puritans, and looked for different treatment from Charles.

(1) *Spain* hoped for the restoration of Jamaica and Dunkirk. But in 1662 Charles married a princess of the House of Braganza, which had just made Portugal independent of Spain. (As her dowry, he received Bombay in India and Tangier in the north-west of Africa.) He kept Jamaica, and instead of returning Dunkirk to Spain, he sold it to France.

THE DUTCH WAR.—(2) *The Dutch* were similarly disappointed when the Navigation Act, instead of being repealed, was made stronger than before. Charles was interested in promoting English trade, because of the revenue he derived from customs duties. Not only in the East and West Indies, but also on the coasts of West Africa and of North America, the Dutch and the English had been competing with each other. The grievances of the English traders in Africa were avenged in 1664 by an expedition which captured New Netherland (now New York and New Jersey) in America.

In the war which followed, as in that of 1652-4, there were three battles at sea. (1) In 1665, Charles's brother, James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, won a victory off Lowestoft; (2) in 1666, Prince Rupert and General Monk, who had been made Duke of Albemarle, were the English leaders in a stubborn indecisive four-days' battle in the Downs; (3) a few weeks later the same commanders won a great victory off the North Foreland.

THE GREAT PLAGUE AND THE FIRE OF LONDON.—During the war London had suffered from two great calamities. (*a*) In the hot, dry summer of 1665, 70,000 of the inhabitants died of the plague, which had ravaged England less severely on three previous occasions in the seventeenth century. (*b*) In September 1666, two-thirds of the city was destroyed by a great fire, which lasted five days. So much money was needed to repair the damage, that in 1667 the fleet was laid up, and negotiations for peace with the Dutch were set on foot.

DUTCH RAID ON THE THAMES.—The Dutch, however, seized the opportunity of England's inactivity at sea to make a raid in June 1667 into the Thames. Several English ships were burned; Chatham was bombarded; the sound of the Dutch guns was heard in London.

The English gave up their demand for a share in the East Indian island trade, which Cromwell had secured in 1654; they also surrendered Surinam, now Dutch Guiana, on the north coast of South America; but on the whole they made a substantial gain, for they kept New York.

ENGLAND'S EXPANSION IN AMERICA AND INDIA.—New York linked up the colonies of New England in the north with those on Chesapeake Bay to the south, and gave England possession of the whole line of the American coast from the Spanish dominion of Florida to the French settlements in Acadia or Nova Scotia.

In Charles's reign, a number of new English colonies were created in America, partly for the sake of trade, partly as rewards for the king's servants and friends. Large areas were granted to groups of proprietors, who spent considerable sums in developing their territory.

The East India Company had built its first fort in India at Madras in 1640. In 1668 Charles II transferred Bombay to the Company. In 1690 Calcutta was founded. These stations became the great centres of English expansion in India, and are now the three largest

towns in the Indian Empire, the smallest of the three, Madras, having over half a million inhabitants.

DOWNFALL OF CLARENDON.—After the raid of the Dutch in 1667, Clarendon was blamed by Parliament for the mismanagement of the war. He was dismissed from office and impeached for high treason. Charles was not sorry to get rid of Clarendon, who retired to the Continent.

Parliament, being dissatisfied with the manner in which part of the war money had been squandered, insisted thereafter on "appropriating" supplies—that is, saying that votes of money should be applied to certain purposes and to no other.

THE "CABAL."—During the following years, Charles allowed no single minister to succeed to all the influence and authority of Clarendon. He appointed five advisers, known as the Cabal (or secret council). The most important of these men were Lord Ashley, the ablest politician of the day, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the son of Charles I's favourite. The Earl of Lauderdale managed the affairs of Scotland.

CHARLES AND LOUIS MAKE WAR ON THE DUTCH.—To increase the value of his alliance in the eyes of the French king, Charles joined Holland and Sweden in "the Triple Alliance" (1668). But in 1670, he made with Louis "the Secret Treaty of Dover," promising to declare himself a Catholic, to establish Catholicism in England, and to go to war with the Dutch. In return, he was to receive a pension from Louis and armed support in the case of a rebellion in England.

In 1672 war was declared on the Dutch. Parliament was not allowed to assemble; and, in order to meet the expenses, money was employed which should have been paid to the goldsmiths of London, who had advanced loans to the Government. This measure ("the Stop of the Exchequer") ruined Charles's credit in England: he

could scarcely expect people in future to trust him with a loan.

When it came to fighting, the French scarcely did their fair share at sea; and on land the Dutch thwarted them by breaking down the dykes and letting in the sea to flood the low-lying country near the town of Leyden. In their hour of need, the Dutch appointed as their leader the young William of Orange, son of Charles's sister, Mary.

Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act.—Besides making war on the Dutch in 1672, Charles did as much as he safely could for the Roman Catholics by issuing a "Declaration of Indulgence"—that is, by proclaiming that there was to be toleration for all dissenters, Protestant and Catholic alike. But Englishmen were very suspicious of France and of the Catholics (whom they blamed for causing the Fire of London); and, when Parliament met in 1673, a "Test Act" was passed, which obliged all holders of office under the Crown to take the Sacrament in the way prescribed by the Church of England.

James, Duke of York, surrendered the position of Lord Admiral to his cousin, Prince Rupert, rather than conform to this new law. As James was the heir to the throne, this warned the English people of the danger that they might soon come to be ruled by one of those "papists" whom at this time they so much feared.

End of the "Cabal."—Ashley, who had by this time been made Earl of Shaftesbury, began to suspect the secret designs of Charles, and went over to the Opposition, of which he became the leader. The "Cabal" was broken up; peace was made with the Dutch; the Declaration of Indulgence had been withdrawn even before the Test Act was passed. Parliament and the Church seemed now to be allied to defend Protestantism in England against the Catholic policy of the king.

41. THE RISE OF PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT; THE EXCLUSION BILL, 1673-85

TORIES AND WHIGS.—Charles was clever enough to break up the new alliance of Church and Parliament. He chose as his chief adviser a Yorkshireman, Sir Thomas Osborne, whom he made Earl of Danby. He gave up the policy of Catholicism and Toleration, and made a bid for the support of the Church of England. Osborne's mission was to create a party which should rally to the support of "Church and Crown," as in the Civil War. This party was gradually cemented together by presents, honours, and offices, and became the "Tory" party of later history.

On the other side, Shaftesbury exerted himself to unite the opposition to the growing power of the Crown and to the intolerance of the Church. In 1675 his followers found headquarters for themselves in the King's Head tavern at the end of Chancery Lane. They took as their badge a green ribbon, and the members of the "Green Ribbon Club" were the real organisers of what came to be known as the "Whig" party.

TANGLED FOREIGN POLICY.—When Parliament did meet again in 1677, it urged the king to help the Dutch against Louis XIV, who had again attacked them. Charles resented the attempt to control his foreign policy, and adjourned Parliament. At this time (a) *Charles* wanted money and was ready to accept it from Parliament for going to war, and then to take more from Louis for not making war; (b) *Louis* wished to keep England neutral, and was ready to bribe the Opposition as well as Charles in order to embitter their quarrels and prevent them from coming to an agreement to make war on him; (c) *Parliament* was anxious for war, but afraid to trust Charles with money and troops.

THE "POPISH PLOT."—After a perfect tangle of manœuvring, the nation was roused to fury in 1678 by the revelation (by Titus Oates, a renegade English Jesuit) of a Catholic plot to kill the king, massacre the Protestants, and conquer England with a French and Irish army.

Oates's stories were far from accurate; but at first they were not altogether invented. He did know something of the aims and hopes of the Jesuits; and among the papers of one of his victims, Edward Coleman, who had been private secretary to the Duke of York, there was found enough material to show at least that France and Rome had been asked to help to restore Catholicism in England.

Shaftesbury and the Green Ribbon men fostered the idea that England was menaced by a great "Popish Plot"; and urged that the Duke of York should not be allowed to succeed to the throne or even to hold high office in England. When Parliament met in October 1678, a motion was made that the duke should be withdrawn from the king's presence and counsels.

In December, Louis betrayed to the Whigs the secret treaty he had made with Charles. This evidence that the Government of England was willing to enter into the pay of France seemed to confirm the worst that any informer could say. There was enough substance behind the "plot" to convince most men that there was real danger; and many innocent victims were hounded down. The king saved Osborne from impeachment by dissolving Parliament (January 1679); but, of all those who were brought to trial in the ordinary courts, not one was acquitted until July 1679.

THE "EXCLUSION BILL": HABEAS CORPUS ACT.—When the panic of the Popish plot was at its height, a new parliament was elected in February 1679. In May a bill to exclude James from the throne (the "Exclusion

Bill") was read a second time [1] in the House of Commons: six days later Charles prorogued Parliament. Only a single Act was passed by this Parliament, but it is one of the most important in the history of British liberties —"the Habeas Corpus Act," which requires that everyone who is put in prison shall have the opportunity of a speedy trial.

CHARLES AND THE WHIGS.—The Whigs were very angry when Parliament was prorogued, and still more so when it was dissolved in July. During the summer the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, whom many regarded as the most suitable successor to the king, made himself more popular by putting down a rising in Scotland without extreme severity; but some of the Whigs were already looking to William of Orange as their candidate.

In 1680 the Exclusion Bill was passed by the House of Commons, but it was rejected in the House of Lords. In January 1681 Charles dissolved this Parliament, and summoned another to meet, not at Westminster but at Oxford.

In the Oxford Parliament the Whigs were again in a large majority in the House of Commons, and they were now confident of victory. Charles proposed to them that William of Orange should be regent, while James, though nominally king, should remain out of England. The Whigs refused: nothing but exclusion would satisfy them. Then Charles, who had received fresh supplies from Louis, amazed them all by declaring the Parliament dissolved.

[1] Bills have to be read three times in each House of Parliament (and accepted by the King) before they become Acts or laws. The first reading means that the House is willing to discuss the matter; the second approves the *principle*; then *details* are discussed in Committee; the third reading approves the whole bill as amended in Committee.

The Whig leaders had lost much of their popularity in the country by their own bad tactics. They had adopted a mistaken policy in departing from the nearest legitimate Protestant candidates for the throne, James's daughters, Mary and Anne. They had refused the very great concessions offered by Charles. They had persecuted the Catholics, and had used against them the evidence of knaves, whose stories were hopelessly inconsistent. Popular sympathy was now with the king, who had patiently done his best for his brother, whom he did not greatly love.

WHIG PLOTS.—The members of the Green Ribbon Club, as they were deprived of political power, now looked to force as their only remedy. They plotted a rising; but they and their followers were still divided in their aims—some for Monmouth, some for William of Orange, some for a republic. Mutual distrust led to failure, and Shaftesbury and Monmouth fled to Holland, where the former soon afterwards died.

Among the rank and file of the party another plot was devised for the murder of Charles and James, as they rode past a house called the Rye House, on their way to Newmarket. This plot was planned for April 1683, but failed owing to a change in the king's arrangements. The Whig leaders were at once arrested, and several of them executed.

The violence of the Whigs gave Charles an excuse for tightening his control over the country. The government was carried on with the aid of French money; and, in defiance of the Triennial Act of 1641, no parliament met during the last four years of Charles's reign.

TRIUMPH OF CHARLES: HIS DEATH.—In 1673, the year of the Test Act, Charles had abandoned his plans in favour of Roman Catholicism. His alliance with the Protestant Episcopal Church had created the Tory party, and by his skilful manœuvring he had become absolute

master in England by 1683, and had avenged the Crown and the Church for the humiliations they had suffered at the hands of Parliament and the Puritans.

It is not even fair to say that he did this by relying on France for supplies. During the struggle, he kept the control of foreign policy in his own hands, and made Louis and the Whigs bid against each other to induce him to abstain from extreme measures—which, in any case, he had no intention of adopting. In the end, he was accepting money from France; but, had he chosen to summon Parliament, it would have been equally ready to supply him.

Thus, when Charles died in February 1685, James inherited the mastery over an England in which the Whigs were leaderless and discredited, while the great Tory majority were ardent champions of Church and Crown.

Yet, though Charles had done great things for the monarchy, and though he had added to the Empire overseas, the power of England was threatened by the growing strength of France, and the liberties of Englishmen at home were endangered by the arbitrary rule of the king.

42. THE REVOLUTION, 1685-9

ATTEMPTS TO OVERTHROW JAMES II.—James became king in February 1685. In May he met a loyal Tory Parliament in England, which voted liberal supplies. The most dangerous enemies of the Crown had already fled from Britain, but in Holland two feeble attempts were organised for the overthrow of James. In May the Earl of Argyle invaded Scotland to head a Whig rebellion; but few people joined him, and he was captured and executed. The same fate befell the Duke of Monmouth in his attempt in the south-west of England a

month later, although he found enough support to fight a battle at Sedgemoor in Somerset; 300 of his supporters were executed and 800 banished.

JAMES'S CATHOLIC POLICY.—The great object of James was to restore Roman Catholic ascendancy in England. His policy was a return to that which Charles had wisely abandoned in 1673; and it wrecked the Tory party, which stood for Crown and Church—that is, the Protestant Episcopal Church of England. The times were most unfortunate for James, as Louis XIV had just revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had secured toleration for the French Huguenots since 1598. At a time when Catholic France was persecuting the Protestants, it was certain that English Protestants would resist any attempt to give to Catholics any influence over the Government of England.

In November 1685 Parliament humbly addressed the king to remove the alarm caused by his employment of Roman Catholics as officers of the militia. James prorogued Parliament, which was dissolved in July 1687 without having met again.

In 1686 James secured a decision from a packed law-court that the king had a right to "dispense" with the Test Act in *particular* cases, and therefore to appoint such Roman Catholics as he favoured to military and civil offices. In 1687 he went further, and issued a *general* "Declaration of Indulgence," making any Roman Catholic or Protestant Nonconformist eligible to hold office in spite of his religion; and in virtue of this he made many Roman Catholic appointments. A "No Popery" riot which occurred in London was seized by the king as an excuse for collecting an army on Hounslow Heath close by; and James also raised troops in Ireland.

The Church of England began to fear for its safety, and, when another Declaration was issued in 1688 and

ordered to be read in all churches, seven of the bishops ventured to petition against the order. James foolishly directed that they should be tried for publishing a statement likely to arouse ill-feeling against the Government.

FEARS OF A CATHOLIC SUCCESSION.—On the 10th of June a son was born to James. This meant that his successor might be a Catholic, instead of the Protestant Mary and her husband William of Orange. People became seriously alarmed, and the Whigs had no doubt now as to their choice of a leader. The execution of Monmouth had left the field clear for William and Mary as the only possible champions of English Protestantism.

On 30th June the seven bishops were acquitted; and, on the same day, a message was despatched to William asking him to come to England. It was signed by seven persons, including Osborne (Danby), the Tory leader, and the Bishop of London, Henry Compton. James had thrown away the alliance of the Church of England; the members of the other Protestant churches did not trust him; and the English Catholics were too few to be an adequate support.

LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE: FLIGHT OF JAMES.—William accepted the invitation, and landed on the 5th of November; for a fortnight he made his headquarters at Exeter. When James joined his army at Salisbury, a Council of War decided to fall back towards London. Thereupon the general, Lord Churchill, deserted to William, and was followed immediately after by James's daughter Anne.

William had declared for religious toleration, with "tests" to secure the employment of churchmen as office-holders. James could offer nothing better. Instead of calling a Parliament and appealing to the English people, he resolved to trust to the help of France. James secretly embarked for France. Although he was dis-

covered and brought back, his presence in England could only make things more difficult for William. So he was given another opportunity to escape, and this time he reached the French coast in safety.

WILLIAM AND MARY: REVOLUTION EFFECTED.—William summoned all who had been members of Parliament in Charles II's time and the magistrates and Common Council of London, to meet on 26th December; and then a parliament or convention was ordered to be elected and to meet on 22nd January 1689. In this convention resolutions were carried, declaring (1) that James by his withdrawal had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant; and (2) that it was unsafe for this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince.

Some of the Tories wished to recall James under strict conditions; others were for appointing a regent; and others again for giving the Crown not to William, but to Mary. But the second resolution really implied that the people could not trust James again on any conditions; and William and Mary both declared that the Crown must be offered to them jointly, not to Mary alone. The Crown of England was therefore offered to William and Mary on condition of their accepting a "Declaration of Rights," which claimed that there should be frequent meetings of Parliament, no taxation without its consent, no dispensing with laws made by it, and no standing army. That evening the new king and queen were proclaimed as William III and Mary II. The "glorious revolution" was thus accomplished without the shedding of blood.

SCOTLAND SINCE THE RESTORATION.—While England returned in 1660 to the status of 1641, and so retained the benefits of the first session's work of the Long Parliament, Scotland went back to the conditions of 1633, and re-established the absolute rule of the King and his Council.

Most of the ministers in the south and especially in

the south-west of Scotland gave up their livings rather than submit to the king and the bishops in Church matters. Acts were passed to compel people to attend the parish church and to forbid them to attend other services or "conventicles." Further, all holders of office had to make a declaration, rejecting the Covenants and the doctrine that it could be lawful to resist the Crown.

THE PENTLAND RISING.—This policy led to a rising in Dumfries and Ayrshire in 1666. The Covenanters marched on Edinburgh, but in the Pentland Hills a few miles south of the town they were caught and routed by the royal army at Glencorse or "Rullion Green." This was the end of the "Pentland Rising"; a number of prisoners were put to death, and suspects were tortured in order to obtain further information.

LAUDERDALE AND AN "INDULGENCE."—Yet, after all, something may have been gained by the rebellion; for John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, and James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, who had advocated the severe measures which provoked the rising, lost favour with Charles, and for some years Scotland was ruled on more sympathetic lines by the Earl of Lauderdale, one of the Cabal ministry, which favoured toleration. In 1669 evicted ministers who had behaved peaceably were allowed to return to their livings when they happened to be vacant. Some forty ministers took advantage of this "Indulgence," and returned to their parishes; but the extreme Covenanters became more bitter than ever against any interference by the Government with the affairs of the Church.

A severe Act was passed against conventicles in 1670, and renewed in 1672; but in the latter year, by a second "Indulgence," eighty more ministers were allowed to conduct services upon certain conditions.

The Cabal, the ministry of toleration, broke down in

1673, and Charles began to form his alliance with the Church of England. The Presbyterians now offered more serious opposition in the Scots Parliament; and they were stirred up to resistance by Shaftesbury, the leader of the English Whigs.

BOTHWELL BRIDGE.—The fanatical Covenanters were equally ready for extreme measures. In May 1679 James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, was murdered by some of them near that town. The murderers were welcomed in the west, and an armed force quickly assembled to support them. On 1st June they defeated a small Royalist force at Drumclog in Ayrshire. The Duke of Monmouth, however, arrived three weeks later with a large army, and won a very easy victory at Bothwell Bridge on the Clyde. Only seven of the prisoners were executed; but the others spent a cold winter in wooden sheds in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, before having to choose between taking an oath to keep the peace and being banished to the West Indies.

JAMES'S SUCCESSION IN SCOTLAND.—The Duke of York, menaced in England by the Exclusion Bill, came north to do what he could to ensure his succession in Scotland. In 1681 an Act was passed declaring that the right of inheritance to the Scots Crown could not be affected by difference of religion or by Act of Parliament. Another Act required all office-holders and even voters in Parliamentary elections to reject the Covenants, and to accept the royal supremacy over the Church, and the doctrine that disobedience to the King is in all cases unlawful.

After James's accession, a servile Parliament in April 1685 confirmed his absolute power, and authorised more severe persecution of the violent Covenanters of the south-west. Argyle's invasion [1] found no support and was very easily put down.

[1] See p. 181.

In 1686, even the Scots Parliament refused to go as far as James wished in repealing the laws for excluding Roman Catholics from office; and the king had to offer an Indulgence by his own authority. At first, in February 1687, the Covenanters were excluded, but in June toleration was extended also to such of them as were willing to submit to the Government.

THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND.—When James fled from England his agents in Scotland lost heart. The Catholic ministers were forced to take to flight, while the Presbyterian leaders flocked to Whitehall to offer their allegiance to William.

A Convention met in Edinburgh in March 1689, which prepared a "Claim of Right," and sent three delegates to offer the crown to William and Mary on condition of their accepting the "Claim." The king and queen were proclaimed without waiting for their acceptance; and, when the delegates reached London, William took the coronation oath in the form proposed by the Convention.

The Government had to reckon with the friends of James ("the Jacobites"), who had gathered forces in the Highlands under John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. In July 1689 the Highlanders won a dashing and brilliant victory at Killiecrankie in Perthshire, but Dundee himself was slain; and the Jacobites had no other leader fit to take his place. Resistance to William gradually flickered out even in the Highlands.

In the meanwhile, with William's consent the Convention continued to sit as a Parliament. It abolished Episcopacy in 1689 and the Lords of the Articles in 1690. In England, the Revolution made little definite change; it had rather prevented James from making changes and overthrowing the national Church. In Scotland, the Revolution did effect great changes. (1) It enabled the people to set up the system of Church government of which most of them approved. (2) It freed Parliament

from being controlled by the king through the Lords of the Articles. William had to face the new problem of managing a free parliament in Scotland as well as one in England.

43. WILLIAM OF ORANGE, 1689-1702

WILLIAM'S DIFFICULTIES.—During the quarter of a century which followed the Revolution of 1689, English statesmen were unsettled and anxious to provide for their own safety, in case there should be another Restoration. Most of them wrote letters to James, and it was difficult for William to have full confidence in any of them. He relied more fully on his own Dutch friends, and this made many Englishmen dislike him.

William's great object in life was to prevent the extension of the power of France. To do this he required the help of England; and, though in the end England gained more than Holland from opposing Louis XIV, people at the time saw only the immediate danger that threatened Holland, and felt that England was being dragged into war in the interests of a foreign country and a foreign ruler. William had thus a very thankless task in England, and his merits were not fully recognised till after his death.

His wife, as an Englishwoman, was able to help him till she died at the end of 1694; but after that his Dutch friends were regarded with increasing jealousy: many of them were deprived of lands which William had given them in Ireland, and the Dutch troops whom he had kept were disbanded. Yet, in spite of the treachery by which he was surrounded and the jealousy with which he was regarded, William made his own position and that of England very strong.

TROUBLE IN IRELAND.—James had fled to France in December 1688. In March 1689 he went to Ireland,

where the Catholics held the upper hand under the Earl of Tyrconnel, whom James had sent over as his Commander-in-Chief and Lord Deputy or Viceroy. A parliament sat at Dublin from May till July, and passed measures by which about 2500 Protestants were to be deprived of their estates.

The Protestant stronghold at Londonderry was besieged by James's supporters, but about the time of the battle of Killiecrankie it was relieved by sea.

In June 1690, William himself crossed the Irish Channel. It seems that Louis XIV should have been able to prevent this, for at the end of the month the French fleet gained a great victory over the English off Beachy Head. But the very next day, 1st July, James was defeated at the Boyne River and fled to France. William now held the east of Ireland, but the Catholics in the south and west were by no means ready to submit. William had to abandon the siege of Limerick and return to England in September. It was not till more than a year later (October 1691) that Limerick at last surrendered on favourable terms.

The English Parliament now passed an Act imposing tests which made it impossible for any Roman Catholic to sit in the Irish Parliament. Catholics were forbidden to have arms or to educate their children either abroad or under a Catholic teacher in Ireland. Their clergy were banished, and many of their estates were confiscated.

Even the Protestants of Ireland had a grievance against the Government. An English Act of 1699 forbade the export of Irish wool or woollen goods except to England. As the duty on the import of wool into England was very heavy, this practically ruined the sheep-farming and woollen industries in Ireland.

War with France: Victory of La Hogue.—As Louis XIV supported James II and attempted to restore

him to the throne of England, William was able to use the strength of England in his great object of checking the power of France. The war would best be described from an English point of view as "the War of the English Revolution"—a war for William against James. But it was also part of a European war, in which Louis XIV's desire for conquest was opposed by all the allies William could collect. William took part in six campaigns against the French generals in the Netherlands, but there were few important battles.

At sea an important victory was won by the English fleet at La Hogue in 1692, which saved England from the danger of invasion. The French did not risk another naval battle, but in 1693 they had a striking success in attacking our overseas commerce, when they captured or sank off Brest the greater part of 400 ships engaged in trade with the Levant. The English then succeeded in blockading the French fleet in Toulon for three years.

In 1697 peace was patched up on terms which showed that France had gained nothing since England, under William, had become one of her enemies. Louis recognised William as lawful king of England, and agreed to abandon the cause of James ("The Peace of Ryswick").

Financial Reforms.—England owed much at this time to the ability of Charles Montagu, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1694 to 1699, and was made Earl of Halifax in 1700. He was the creator of the system of the National Debt, by which some Government expenses are not met by raising taxes at the moment, but allowed to be distributed over a number of years. When great expenses are incurred for the sake of a lasting benefit, it is not unfair that posterity should bear part of the cost. This is effected by borrowing money under a promise, not to repay the principal sum, but to pay a certain amount every year. These annual payments by the Government

are known as " Consolidated Annuities " ; and anyone may lend money to the Government in this way by buying " Consols " at any post office.

In 1694 the Government required a large loan, and it allowed the lenders to become a Company and to issue paper money as " the Bank of England."

TOLERATION ACT.—When an oath of allegiance to William was imposed on the clergy in 1689, four hundred of them resigned, and gave up their livings rather than act against their Tory principles. Because of their refusal to take the oath, they were known as " Non-jurors." The Church of England was still a stronghold of the Tories.

The Nonconformists were rewarded for their rejection of James's " Declaration of Indulgence " by a " Toleration Act," passed in 1689, which allowed them freedom of worship, but left them still shut out from office and from the Universities.

BILL OF RIGHTS : ACT OF SETTLEMENT.—In 1694 William agreed to a Triennial Act, which required Parliament to be dissolved and a General Election held every three years.

In 1689 the Declaration of Rights was passed by Parliament into law as the " Bill of Rights." In two particulars the Bill was more definite than the Declaration : (*a*) in excluding any Catholic from succession to the Crown, and (*b*) in declaring that the Crown had no power to " dispense with "—that is, to grant exemptions from—any Act of Parliament.

At the end of the reign, further constitutional regulations were included in a law for fixing the succession—" the Act of Settlement," 1701. The first object of the Act was to settle the crown, after the Princess Anne [1] (and her descendants, if any should survive), upon the Electress

[1] Daughter of James II, and sister of Queen Mary, William's wife.

Sophia of Hanover.[1] The Tories had a majority in Parliament at the time, and they included several clauses in the bill, which really expressed their displeasure at William's conduct in four respects :

(1) The king must be a member of the Church of England ;

(2) He must not leave Britain without the consent of Parliament ;

(3) He must not make England go to war to defend his possessions abroad ;

(4) Members of Parliament, Government officials, and grantees of Crown lands, must be native-born Englishmen.

Besides this, the Act made an important reform in providing that judges should be appointed not merely during the pleasure of the Crown, but for life, unless Parliament should ask the Crown to remove them for misconduct.

From 1662 an Act had been renewed at intervals requiring all books and pamphlets printed for publication to be licensed or passed by a censor. In 1695 the Act was not renewed, but was allowed to lapse. This established "the Freedom of the Press" in England, and greatly encouraged the rise of political pamphlets and newspapers.

Massacre of Glencoe.—Two episodes of William's reign roused the bitterest hatred in Scotland against the English Government :

(1) An order was made in August 1691 that all the Highland chiefs should take the oath of allegiance before 1st January 1692. The Chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe put off till the last days of December ; and when he offered to take the oath at Fort William, he was sent

[1] Granddaughter of James I, daughter of the Elector Frederick of the Rhine, sister of Prince Rupert ; she died in 1714, at the age of eighty-four.

to another official at Inveraray. Thus he did not take the oath till 6th January—less than a week late.

For this offence, and as a warning to others, Sir John Dalrymple, the Under Secretary of State, resolved to punish the clan by a wholesale massacre. Further, he carried out his intentions with the utmost treachery. He directed the Macdonalds to receive at Glencoe a party of 120 soldiers led by members of the Clan Campbell, their greatest enemies. They obeyed, and entertained their visitors hospitably for twelve days, apparently without any suspicion. Then, in the early morning of 13th February the Chief and thirty-seven of his followers were surprised and slain, the rest escaping to the hills in the darkness. An inquiry was held in 1695, and Dalrymple for a time resigned his office; but neither he nor William was forgiven by the Scots people.

ATTEMPT TO FOUND SCOTS COLONY IN DARIEN.—(2) In 1695 a proposal was made to found a Scots colony on the isthmus of Darien, and to make a link there between the trade of the Atlantic and that of the Pacific. William at first promised to help; but, when the English traders objected, he withdrew. Spain still claimed a monopoly of Central America; and the Scots colonists were thus certain to arouse the anger of the Spaniards at a time when William was very anxious to keep on good terms with Spain.[1]

But the absence of English aid only made the Scots rally to the scheme as a great national undertaking. The first expedition sailed from Leith in June 1698, but the settlers found the climate most unhealthy and the water bad. The whole business was mismanaged through inexperience, and in June 1699 the colony was abandoned.

A second expedition had its stores destroyed by fire, and went off to Jamaica; a third body was attacked in February 1700 by Spanish ships and troops, and was

[1] See p. 194.

forced to surrender after a defence of six weeks. The adventurers were pursued by ill-luck to the very end. Shipwrecks and fever carried off most of those who survived to leave Darien. Altogether the enterprise cost Scotland two thousand men and two hundred thousand pounds.

The blame was cast on the selfishness of the English merchants and their influence over a king who knew nothing of and cared nothing for Scotland. It was clear that Scotland and England must be more closely united or that they would separate entirely. One of William's last acts was to recommend that a union should be brought about.

44. THE WHIG WAR AGAINST LOUIS XIV, 1697-1710

William fails to secure Peace in Europe.—In September 1697 the Peace of Ryswick ended the war which Louis XIV had been waging against England, Holland, and Spain. The King of Spain, Charles II, had no children; and it seemed likely that he would die before long. The ruling families of France, of Austria, and of Bavaria were connected with the Spanish House by marriage, and each of them laid claim to the succession. In order to avoid the speedy renewal of war in Europe, Louis and William attempted to settle matters in advance by dividing the territories of Spain between the claimants in such a way as to prevent either France or Austria from becoming overwhelmingly powerful in Europe.

In October 1700 the King of Spain, in the hope of maintaining his dominions intact, bequeathed the whole to the *younger* grandson of Louis XIV—Philip of Anjou (not the heir to the French crown). A month later Charles II was dead. Louis XIV at once accepted the will, recognising his grandson as Philip V of Spain.

It depended upon England whether any serious resistance would be made; and William knew that it would not be easy to get the Tories, who had a majority in Parliament in 1701, to take an active interest in his Continental schemes.

Louis's conduct, however, soon made enemies for him in England. (1) He announced that Philip, the new King of Spain, would not be debarred from succeeding to the throne of France. (2) With the permission of the Spanish authorities, he ousted the Dutch from the barrier fortresses which guarded the southern frontier of the Netherlands, and replaced them by French troops. (3) Commercial arrangements were made which showed that France and Spain intended to unite in an effort to command the sea and monopolise trade with the colonies. On the death of James II in September 1701, the French Court recognised his son as James III of England.

WILLIAM PREPARES FOR WAR: HIS DEATH.—A few days before this, William had formed an alliance with the Emperor and the Dutch to secure the Netherlands and Italy for the Austrian claimant, to protect Holland against France by barrier fortresses, to safeguard the interests of English traders, and to ensure that the French and Spanish dominions should not be united under a single ruler ("the Grand Alliance," September 1701). War was delayed only till preparations should have been made in Holland and in England.

After a General Election, Parliament early in 1702 voted money for 40,000 soldiers and 40,000 sailors. William had reunited against France the allies of his former war; and England was now roused to give him cordial support. But before war was even declared, the king, who had never enjoyed very good health, died on 9th March 1702.

QUEEN ANNE, THE LAST OF THE STEWARTS.—William was succeeded by his sister-in-law, Anne, the daughter of

James II. The interest of her reign is divided mainly between the fortunes of the political parties at home, and the great "Spanish Succession War" between France and William's "Grand Alliance." But more important still, perhaps, was the Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707.

PARTY LEADERS.—The men who really managed English affairs during the greater part of the reign were John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and Sidney, Lord Godolphin, who were moderate politicians. They inclined at first to the Tories, but later relied on the Whigs, who were more heartily in favour of the great war with France, in which Marlborough showed his genius as a military commander, while Godolphin took charge of the financial measures necessary for finding supplies.

MARLBOROUGH'S WAR.—For various reasons the "Spanish Succession War" involved almost the whole of western Europe. *England* fought to protect her trade and the Protestant succession. The *Dutch* were anxious for the safety of their frontier and the establishment of a "barrier" of fortresses to defend them from the French. The *Emperor* at first hoped to secure the Spanish dominions for himself and his eldest son, but in 1703 he agreed to support the claims of his younger son, Charles. Other *German States* for the most part assisted the Emperor, but Bavaria took the side of France. To the north-west of Italy, *Savoy* after some hesitation joined the Grand Alliance. In *Spain* itself, some of the old provinces, which resented the supremacy of Castile, were ready to support the Austrian against the French candidate.

FIRST SUCCESSES, 1702.—War was declared by England in 1702. In that year Marlborough managed to out-manœuvre the French, and to capture Liége and the other forts which defended the line of the Meuse below Huy.

Meanwhile a fleet under a Tory admiral, Sir George Rooke, after failing completely in an expedition which was intended to capture Cadiz, destroyed a Spanish treasure-fleet at Vigo, and secured a million pounds sterling of plunder.

1703.—Marlborough in 1703 was unable to do more than take a few towns, including Huy. Portugal came to terms with the Grand Alliance in 1703, and agreed that Lisbon should be the base of operations for English troops in Spain.

A commercial treaty was also made with our new ally: England agreed to admit Portuguese wines at a lower duty than French, and Portugal gave a monopoly of her market to English woollen goods.

VICTORY OF BLENHEIM, 1704.—The campaign of 1704 is the most striking of any during "Marlborough's War." (1) The French and Bavarians aimed at capturing Vienna, the Emperor's capital. The Dutch wished to detain all the forces they could control to defend their own frontier. Marlborough, however, saw the necessity of defeating the main French army and saving Vienna. He made a masterly march up the Rhine and the Neckar, and joined forces with the great Austrian leader, Prince Eugene of Savoy. On the banks of the Danube on 13th August the Allies won a very brilliant victory over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim. Instead of Austria lying at the mercy of France, Bavaria was at the mercy of the Allies.

CAPTURE OF GIBRALTAR.—(2) Seven days before Blenheim, the rock of Gibraltar was taken by Admiral Rooke. Rooke also fought a French fleet off Malaga, and prevented it from attempting to recover Gibraltar. A siege was conducted by land, but Sir John Leake twice relieved the garrison by sea. Gibraltar has remained ever since in the possession of Britain.

1705.—Marlborough hoped to invade France itself

from the Moselle district in 1705, but the successes of the French in the Netherlands in June forced him to come to the rescue of the Dutch, who had lost both Huy and Liége. He drove the French back in July.

VICTORY OF RAMILLIES, 1706.—(1) In May 1706 Marlborough gained a complete and crushing victory over the French at Ramillies,[1] and then overran Brabant and Flanders, capturing Antwerp, Ostend, and most of the other strongholds of what is now western Belgium. These victories, however, were rendered less satisfactory by the jealousy which sprang up between the Dutch and the English.

(2) In Spain, Barcelona had been taken by the Allies in September 1705; in May 1706 a great French expedition for its recapture was beaten off. On 27th June, the day of thanksgiving in England for the victory of Ramillies and the relief of Barcelona, the Allies entered Madrid, and proclaimed Charles III as King of Spain. In August, however, the Allies were forced to retire from Madrid by the French, who occupied the town.

1707.—In 1707 the Allies did nothing in the Netherlands, and in Spain they were defeated at Almanza.[2] Again, in July, the Allies failed completely in an attack on Toulon.

1708.—The rule of the Dutch was unpopular in Flanders, and provoked a reaction in favour of the French, who were thus able to capture Ghent and Bruges. Marlborough and the Austrian General, Prince Eugene, beat the French at Oudenarde[3] in July, and before the campaign ended took the first-class fortress of Lille, and recovered Ghent and Bruges. The British fleet in the Mediterranean in August seized Sardinia for the Emperor, and, in September, took Minorca as a

[1] Eleven miles north of Namur.
[2] South-west of Valencia, in the south-east of Spain.
[3] On the Scheldt, fifteen miles south-west of Ghent.

naval base for Britain itself. But in Spain the territory held for the Austrian Archduke was gradually reduced to the town of Barcelona.

Battle of Malplaquet, 1709.—In 1709 a conference was held at the Hague to try to arrange terms of peace. The attempt failed, and the relations among the Allies became less cordial. Yet Marlborough was still victorious in the Netherlands.

In September the Duke took Tournai, and by the battle of Malplaquet,[1] though he lost twice as many men as the French, he cleared the way for the capture of Mons.

1710.—In 1710 the French made a great effort to prevent an invasion of their country, but Marlborough took Douai [2] and some less important fortresses.

In Spain the Allies had a brief period of success in the autumn, and again occupied Madrid ; but in November they had to beat a disastrous retreat towards Barcelona, and were forced to surrender. In spite of Marlborough's victories and the capture of Gibraltar and Minorca, the position of Philip of France was becoming quite secure in Spain.

45. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WHIG ASCENDANCY, 1710-16

Tory Rule.—On the death of the Emperor, Joseph I, in 1711, his brother, Charles, the Austrian candidate for the Spanish throne, succeeded to the Austrian dominions and was elected Emperor. This proved a good excuse for the Tories, who were determined to put an end to the war. If Spain were given to the ruler of Austria, it would make him too powerful—it would upset " the

[1] About ten miles south of Mons, on the French side of the modern frontier, near Maubeuge.

[2] Between Lille and Cambrai—in the north-west of France.

Balance of Power." It would be better, after all, to leave Spain to Philip, who was not King of France, nor heir to its throne, though a member of the French royal family.

Marlborough won another success in September—and the way was almost clear for a march on Paris. The Whigs, however, managed to get the House of Lords to reject the proposed terms of peace. To gain the support of some High Churchmen for this purpose, they agreed in exchange to pass a Bill which prevented persons who were not members of the Church of England from qualifying to hold office by taking the Sacrament according to usages of that church, for one occasion only.

The Tories took a very thorough revenge for their defeat. Marlborough was accused of corruption and dismissed from the offices he held. Twelve new peers were created in order to secure a Tory majority in the House of Lords.

TREATY OF UTRECHT.—Peace negotiations were opened at Utrecht in January 1712; and in May Marlborough's successor, the Duke of Ormonde, was directed to take no part in any attack on the French. The British armies in Spain and Portugal had already been withdrawn to Minorca and Gibraltar; and, without the British, the Allies made no headway. The Tories accused the Dutch of bad faith, and denounced the Whigs for making promises contrary to the interests of Great Britain. These accusations were made an excuse for negotiating with France apart from our allies.

The French delayed the treaty as long as possible, but it was signed in April 1713. Britain gained—

(1) The recognition by Louis XIV. of the Protestant (Hanoverian) succession, and the withdrawal of French aid from the Stewart family;

(2) The destruction of the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk, from which privateers had preyed on English vessels in the Channel;

(3) The cession by France of Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay, and Newfoundland; and the cession by Spain of Minorca and Gibraltar;

(4) Promises that France and Spain should not be brought under the same king, and that France should not be given special trading privileges in Spain and the Spanish colonies.

The Dutch were secured by a barrier of forts; but the Emperor Charles held out for some months longer before he would accept a treaty which deprived him of the crown of Spain. He obtained considerable compensation in Italy and in the Netherlands. What used to be known as "the Spanish Netherlands" now became "the Austrian Netherlands."

DEATH OF ANNE.—Viscount Bolingbroke, the Tory leader, was gaining the chief power in the State, but the queen died before he had time to arrange with Prince James for a restoration of the Stewarts, or to make terms with the Elector of Hanover for the maintenance of his own power. The Tories had adopted no strong policy with regard to the succession, and James lost whatever chance he had of gaining the crown by refusing to change his religion or to conform to the Church of England.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—The Electress Sophia had died two months before Queen Anne; and there was no active opposition to the accession of her son George, who was already fifty-four years old. On 31st August he set out for England, and on the same day Bolingbroke was dismissed. The Hanoverians had determined to rely wholly on the Whigs, who had always been strong supporters of the Protestant (Hanoverian) succession.

UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—At the beginning of Anne's reign Commissioners from England and Scotland met to consider the question of a union of the Parliaments (October 1702). But the Darien failure was still fresh in the minds of the Scots; and the English

were not prepared to give the Scots the privileges of trade with the colonies which alone would compensate them for the loss of their independent Parliament.

When the queen recommended the Scots to settle the succession, they passed the "Act of Security," which declared that Anne's successor in England should *not* be received as King in Scotland, unless he should secure to Scotland its Parliament, its Presbyterian Church, and its right to trade unhampered by English influence. The royal assent was refused in 1703; but in 1704, before Marlborough's great campaign had been crowned with victory at Blenheim, the bill was allowed to become law.

After Marlborough's triumph, the English Whigs replied by (1) authorising another treaty for a union; (2) prohibiting the export of wool to Scotland or the importation of cattle from Scotland; and (3) declaring that Scotsmen should be treated as aliens until a union was accomplished or the succession settled in Scotland in the same way as in England (December 1704). That is, England offered Scotland a choice between a complete union and the immediate loss of all the benefits derived from a connection with England.

There was fierce indignation in Scotland in 1705, but early in 1706 thirty-one Commissioners were appointed by each country to prepare the terms of a union. They sat from April till July, and agreed that in return for the loss of its Parliament Scotland should be generously treated in regard to its share of taxation and the number of its representatives in the United Parliament. In addition, England was to pay a sum of about £400,000 to defray the debts of the company which had managed the Darien scheme, to improve the Scots coinage, and to encourage fisheries and manufactures. Acts for carrying out the union were passed by the Scots Parliament in January 1707, and by the English in March; and GREAT BRITAIN became a single State on 1st May 1707.

PROGRESS AND GAINS DURING ANNE'S REIGN.—Thus in Anne's reign (1) the Whig party, which had the greater share in the Revolution of 1689, was able to complete its work by making arrangements for a *Protestant succession* and the exclusion of the House of Stewart; (2) just after Parliament had gained the upper hand in its struggles with the Crown, a single parliament was formed for the whole of *Great Britain*; and Scotland received equal trading rights, and became a partner in the overseas empire of England; (3) William's policy of checking the growing power of *France* was successfully pursued under the brilliant leadership of Marlborough; and (4) Great Britain obtained several additions to her *empire* abroad as a reward for her share in the work of the Grand Alliance.

CHANGES ATTENDING THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION.—The changes which attended the accession of George I were in some ways greater than those which had been made in 1688-9.

(1) Parliament departed further from the natural line of succession: the family of James II was totally excluded.

(2) The Tories had shared to some extent in the Revolution of 1688, and a number of them had held high offices under William and Anne. But in 1714 the Whigs convinced the new king that the Tories in general were Jacobites in sympathy, and not to be trusted. Power, under the Hanoverians, fell for many years into the hands of the Whig aristocracy.

(3) George I could not speak English, and he was very often absent from the councils of his ministers. This gave "the cabinet" greater independence, and increased the power and influence of the leading minister, who presided in the absence of the king.

It was not altogether wise for the Hanoverians to trust themselves to one party only, and to exclude the Tories

entirely from favour : the persecution of the Tory leaders aroused some sympathy for them in the country. Prince James was anxious to make a bid for the throne without longer delay. But in September 1715 his cause suffered a great blow in the death of Louis XIV.

Friendly Relations with France.—If Louis XIV's great-grandson and successor—Louis XV, who was a very feeble child of five—were to die, the crown of France must pass either to his uncle, Philip, who had just secured the crown of Spain, or to the Duke of Orleans, a nephew of Louis XIV, who was acting as regent in France. The regent's interests were thus opposed to those of the King of Spain. As the Whigs did not wish the crowns of France and Spain to be united, they were disposed to be friendly to the Regent Orleans.

The Spaniards desired to regain as much as possible of their old possessions with which the Austrian candidate had been consoled by the Treaty of Utrecht. The Queen of Spain, an Italian, was particularly anxious to provide for her children an inheritance in Italy.[1] Besides this, Gibraltar and Minorca had been taken by Great Britain. Spain was the power in Europe which was most dissatisfied, and looked forward to gaining something by war.

For the Hanoverian dynasty (which was threatened by the Stewarts), and for the French regent (who had to guard against Philip of Spain), peace and security were most desirable. Thus, in the midst of their long rivalry, England and France enjoyed a period of peace owing to the personal interests of their rulers—quite a revolution in diplomacy, for, ever since the formation of the party, the Whigs had been the jealous enemies of France.

Jacobite Rising, 1715.—Without the knowledge of

[1] She was Philip's second wife. A son of his first wife would inherit the crown of Spain.

his advisers, Prince James resolved on an immediate attempt to regain the crown; and by his directions his standard was raised at Braemar in Aberdeenshire in September 1715, by the Earl of Mar. Inverness, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth were occupied; but a plot to seize Edinburgh Castle was betrayed and failed. On 13th November the Jacobites of the Border country were forced to surrender to the Government troops at Preston; and, on the same day, Mar retreated towards Perth after an indecisive engagement at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane in Stirlingshire.

James himself arrived in Scotland in January 1716, but he brought no aid from France, and before the end of the month his supporters had to abandon Perth and withdraw towards Aberdeen. His cause was hopeless for the present; and, with the idea that his followers might secure better terms in his absence, the Prince was persuaded to take ship at Montrose. He sent a number of vessels to the Western Highlands to bring off to a refuge in France the dispersed remnant of Jacobites, who were being hunted down by Dutch and English troops. Hundreds of those who were captured were transported as servants to the colonies in America. More than a score of the leaders were executed.

It was with reference to Jacobite outbreaks that Parliament in 1715 passed the Riot Act, which is still in force. The Act makes it a felony for twelve or more persons to continue together for an hour after the reading of a proclamation by lawful authority ordering them to disperse.

The Septennial Act.—The Whigs took advantage of the Jacobite rising to strengthen their own position. In 1716 a bill became law which lengthened the duration of a parliament from three to seven years—"the Septennial Act." This naturally increased the strength of the House of Commons: it also gave the Whig Govern-

ment a greater appearance of stability in the eyes of foreign powers: there was less frequent danger of a Tory majority being returned by a General Election, and undoing the acts of the Whigs.

THE SHAPING OF GREAT BRITAIN.—The two hundred and thirty years from 1485 to 1716 form perhaps the most important period in the making of Britain as we know it to-day. We have traced the foundations which were laid in the Middle Age: in Tudor and Stewart times questions were settled as to the building to be erected on these foundations:—

(1) Economically, it was settled that England should look for wealth and strength to her fleet, her Empire overseas, and her foreign trade—"*Ships, Colonies, Commerce.*" Scotland, too, was made a partner in the Empire.

(2) Socially, it was settled that England should proceed to the next stage in her development as a country of great *landholders* attached to a *State Church* and inclined to look down upon those of their humbler neighbours who did not belong to that Church.

(3) Politically, it was settled that the direction of England's and of Scotland's policy and the making of their laws should be controlled by the representatives of the people in *Parliament* rather than by the King: and the Parliaments of the two countries became at last united in a single assembly.

(4) Englishmen and Scotsmen underwent the influence of a profound movement for reforms in all departments of life, which, in spite of apparent failure and some reaction, left a lasting impression on the people, an influence tending to make them more earnest, more resolute to do their duty —"*Puritanism.*"

(5) As the diffusion of books and learning and the new interests of Britain overseas had widened the interests of the people, so the great struggles in the Church and in the

State forced them to think for themselves. In the Middle Age, they had learned to obey—the lesson of discipline; now they learned to *criticise*—the lesson of *freedom of thought*.

VI. THE COLONY WARS WITH FRANCE

46. THE PEACE POLICY OF ROBERT WALPOLE, 1717-42

WHIGS MAINTAIN PEACE OF UTRECHT.—The Septennial Act in 1716 completed the great Whig Revolution, and the party settled down to govern Great Britain under the leadership of Robert Walpole as First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Townshend and General James Stanhope, who had commanded in Spain and at the taking of Minorca, as Secretaries of State. It was the aim of the Whigs to maintain peace abroad in order to secure the Hanoverian dynasty, Protestantism, and their own power at home.

Spain, however, was dissatisfied. She had lost territory to the Austrian candidate, and Gibraltar and Minorca had been taken by Great Britain. Spain was preparing for war.

In January 1717 Britain, France, and Holland formed a "Triple Alliance," which in the next year became the "Quadruple Alliance" on being joined by the Emperor. These powers were resolved to prevent Spain from violently disturbing the settlement of Europe made by the Peace of Utrecht.

The preparations of the Allies forced the Spanish minister, Alberoni, to strike before he was quite ready. Sardinia and Sicily were seized by Spain in 1717 and 1718, but in August 1718 the Spanish fleet was destroyed

by Sir George Byng to the south-east of Sicily, off Cape Passaro.

In December 1719 Alberoni was dismissed, and next year Philip of Spain accepted terms from "the Quadruple Alliance." Spain had failed in its attempt to overthrow the Treaty of Utrecht.

In 1719 the Whigs repealed several Acts which excluded dissenters from many offices. These steps attached the Nonconformists still more firmly to the Whig party.

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.—The year 1720 was marked by the investment of enormous sums of money in the South Sea Company and other business ventures which promised large profits. At the beginning of the year a hundred-pound share in the Company could be bought for £128, 10s. In April an Act was passed by which the Company bought certain privileges from the Government for the sum of seven and a half million pounds. The Company was to take over the National Debt [1] at 5 per cent., and was to conduct the slave trade with the Spanish colonies—a privilege granted to England by the Treaty of Utrecht. The connection with the Government and the great possibilities of the South American trade attracted all who had money to invest, and there was an enormous demand for shares in the Company. On 25th June the hundred-pound share cost £1060. A general frenzy of speculation was followed by uneasiness, by a rush to sell, and by a fall in prices. By 21st September the shares had fallen to £150. Fantastic projects and swindles which had been floated during the mania for speculation were collapsing on every side: many fortunes had been made and lost.

[1] The holders of £32,000,000 worth of the Debt at 7 or 8 per cent. were to be given shares in the Company. The price of its shares was expected to rise greatly, and so those who bought early would gain enormously.

Parliament intervened (1) to punish the directors of the South Sea Company, who had used corrupt means to obtain privileges from the Government, and had tempted the public to subscribe by holding out the prospect of great advantages which they were unable to realise, although they themselves made huge profits by buying and selling shares; and (2) to provide redress for those who had been ruined, by distributing part of the fortunes which had been made by the directors.

ROBERT WALPOLE.—Stanhope, who was free from any interest in "the South Sea Bubble," died in 1721, and was succeeded by Townshend. Townshend's brother-in-law, Robert Walpole, whose reputation was greatly increased by his measures for settling the affairs of the South Sea Company, took charge of the finances of the country as Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. He possessed the talents most necessary at the time, and for over twenty years he guided Britain along a path of peace and material prosperity. In order to encourage industry he reduced the duties to be paid on bringing raw materials to Britain and on sending British manufactures abroad; and he fostered the production of naval stores in the colonies by granting bounties on their importation.

TREATMENT OF IRELAND.—The subjection of Ireland to England was completed in 1719 by an Act asserting the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland, and making the House of Lords at Westminster the supreme Court of Appeal in Irish cases. In the session of 1720-1 Parliament, in order to encourage the use of woollens and silks, prohibited the wearing of printed and dyed calico, and thus struck a severe blow at the Irish calico industry. In 1727 Roman Catholics were excluded from voting at Irish Parliamentary elections. Commercial restrictions and penal laws kept the Irish poor

and ignorant, and Ireland's poverty and ignorance made the greatest of problems for British statesmen in the next century.

In 1722-3 one William Wood was authorised to coin copper halfpence and farthings for Ireland to the amount of over £100,000. The coins were inferior to English coins; the amount was eight times as much as was required; and the whole transaction was a benefit to an individual of no special merit or distinction, at the expense of a people who had not been consulted. The outcry against "Wood's halfpence" was led by Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's (Dublin), in the *Drapier's Letters*. Opposition was so general that it was soon seen it would be impossible to make the people accept the coins. The ministry gave way; and Wood was granted a pension for eight years out of the Irish funds.

Affairs in Scotland.—In Scotland about the same time (1724) there was rioting on account of the reimposition of a malt tax, the collection of which had been given up in 1713. The Jacobite clans were disarmed by General George Wade; the Black Watch was raised from the Whig clans in 1725; and military roads from Inverness to Fort William and to Dunkeld and Crieff were made during the next eleven years, to open up the country for the movement of troops and officials.

Hostilities with Spain and Austria.—In 1725 Philip of Spain and the Emperor Charles came to an agreement in direct hostility to Britain. They aimed at (1) the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca by Spain, and (2) the encouragement of a company trading from Ostend in the Austrian Netherlands as a rival to the English East India Company. Britain organised the League of Hanover to protect its interests: its enemies formed the League of Vienna.

Europe was divided into hostile camps. Yet there was hardly any actual fighting. In 1726-7 the Spanish

treasure-fleet was blockaded at Porto Bello (on the isthmus of Panama) by Admiral Francis Hosier, and prevented from bringing to Europe the supplies which were needed for the war. For a year the Spaniards besieged Gibraltar without result. In 1727 the Emperor signed the preliminaries of peace, the details of which were to be settled at a European Congress. Spain, on the other hand, was still dissatisfied, when George I died on his way to Hanover (June 1727).

Peace with Spain was secured in 1729 by the promise of concessions in Italy for the elder son of the Spanish Queen, but the Emperor was unwilling to consent to these; and it was not till 1731 that he too was induced to accept the peace, by Britain's promise to support the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to all his possessions.

WALPOLE'S DOMESTIC POLICY.—George II, when Prince of Wales, had been in opposition to the Whig ministry; but his wife, Queen Caroline, recognised that Walpole was better able than anyone else to manage the finances of the country, and she won the king over to rely upon the ministers then in power.

Finding that Walpole had become the leading minister, and being unable to agree with him on several questions, Townshend resigned from the ministry in 1730, and retired to Rainham, in Norfolk, where he made experiments in growing turnips and clover and making other improvements in farming.[1] Walpole proceeded with his policy of financial reforms, seeking to lower the rate of interest on money owing by the Government, and to remove duties which hampered British trade.

[1] Hence he was nicknamed "Turnip Townshend." People long had a prejudice against eating turnips and potatoes; but indirectly turnips were useful in securing a constant supply of fresh meat. In earlier times, owing to want of fodder, cattle had to be slaughtered in November (Martinmas) and salted for use during the winter.

Walpole's interest in domestic reforms was shown by a series of Acts which attempted to regulate the liquor traffic by imposing heavy duties and by exacting fees for licences to sell by retail. Distilleries had sprung up in England when French wines were excluded during the long period of war from 1689 to 1712, and "geneva" or gin became very cheap and gin-drinking very prevalent. The last Act of Walpole's ministry in 1736 was too severe: it was generally evaded, and the mob resisted any attempt to enforce it.

An indication of the coming of a more enlightened age is the repeal in 1736 of the laws imposing penalties for witchcraft. Another interesting attempt at reform which was introduced at this time was the regulation of plays by a censor. An Act of 1737 authorised the Lord Chamberlain to take care that nothing prejudicial to the government or harmful to the morals of the people should be publicly exhibited on the stage.

THE PORTEOUS RIOT.—In 1736 there occurred at Edinburgh the famous "Porteous Riot" (described by Sir Walter Scott in *The Heart of Midlothian*). The captain of the City Guard, John Porteous, had ordered his men to fire on a mob which was opposing the execution of a smuggler. Porteous was tried for murder and condemned to death, but the sentence was respited by orders from London; and the people, fearing that he might escape punishment, broke into the Tolbooth Prison and hanged him in the Grassmarket. The city was fined £2000 for this defiance of the Government, and the money was handed over to Porteous's widow.

WALPOLE FORCED TO GO TO WAR.—English merchants had for some time been urging upon the Government their grievances against the Spaniards, who had done many cruel deeds in attempting to put down a smuggling trade with their colonies in America and the West Indies. These uneasy years were well described by Pulteney in

1735 as a time of "peace without rest and war without hostilities." In 1737 Walpole, the great advocate of peace, lost the support which he had derived from the influence of Queen Caroline, who died in November. In 1738 one Richard Jenkins caused a great national outcry by showing to a Committee of the House of Commons his ear, which (he said) had been cut off some years before by Spanish officials. Walpole did all he could to arrange matters peaceably, but the people's demand for war was too strong to be resisted. In 1739 instructions to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies were given to Admiral Edward Vernon, who captured Porto Bello in November.

On the death of the Emperor Charles VI in 1740 a great war broke out on the Continent — "the War of the Austrian Succession," that is, a war in which Frederick II ("Frederick the Great") of Prussia, and the rulers of France, Spain, and Bavaria, sought to despoil Charles's daughter, Maria Theresa, of part of the vast and scattered Austrian dominions. King George concluded a treaty for the neutrality of Hanover, but British feeling was strong in favour of Maria Theresa, whom the British had promised to support.[1]

Further, the war with Spain was going ill: an attempt on Cartagena in 1741 failed ignominiously. Walpole, the great peace minister, was not an inspiring leader for such an occasion. A General Election left him in a minority in the House of Commons, and he resigned in February 1742, accepting the title of Earl of Orford.

[1] See p. 211. This was was the beginning of Prussia's effort to become the leader of the German states in place of Austria.

47. RIVALRY WITH FRANCE RENEWED, 1742-54

War of the Austrian Succession.—The real leader of the new ministry, John, Lord Carteret, understood European affairs and could manage foreign powers better than any other British statesman of the day. Carteret arranged that Prussia should be bought off by Austria with the cession of Silesia, which Frederick had already conquered; and that Savoy should help Maria Theresa in return for another concession of territory. A British admiral forced the King of Naples to withdraw his aid from Spain by a peremptory threat of the bombardment of his capital.

Carteret also sent British troops, and induced the Dutch to furnish men and money, to help the distressed Austrian queen against the French. George II in person joined the army in January, and fought for Maria Theresa at Dettingen, east of Frankfort-on-the-Main. The French were defeated and driven out of Germany.

In 1744 Louis XV declared war against England. The first success of Carteret's policy was followed by a run of misfortune. Britain had been dragged into the war as a principal party; Holland had not followed; and Prussia joined the enemy again in 1744. Walpole and his friends used all their influence against Carteret, who had to resign in November 1744.

In 1745 the British, with the co-operation of the New England colonists, took Louisbourg, in Cape Breton Island, which commanded the mouth of the St Lawrence —the key to Canada, which then belonged to France; but in 1746 Madras, the British headquarters in Southern India, was taken by the French from Pondicherry. The Navy at last asserted itself in 1747, when Admiral George Anson won the battle of Cape Finisterre in

May,[1] and Admiral Edward Hawke that of Belleisle in October.

In the later stages of the war in Europe, the most striking events were the successes of the French commander, Marshal de Saxe, in the Austrian Netherlands —the scene of Marlborough's victories.

TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—In 1748 the war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored practically everything to the condition in which it was before the war. No vital question was really settled. As Austria had to yield the territory seized by Prussia besides that which had been promised to Savoy, Maria Theresa was still anxious for revenge. The disputes between the Spanish and British traders in the West Indies were left unsettled, as were the questions of colonial boundaries with the French in North America, and the rivalry of the East India Companies at Pondicherry and Madras.

JACOBITE RISING OF 1745.—The war was brought more closely home to the people of Great Britain in 1745-1746 by the Jacobite Rising under James II's grandson, Prince Charles Edward, then a youth of 25. An expedition prepared by the French in 1744 had failed on account of a storm, and the remembrance of this deterred them from giving much aid in 1745. The Prince landed at Moidart, in the south-west of Inverness-shire, with only seven companions, and raised his standard at Glenfinnan in August. He evaded King George's troops under Sir John Cope, and occupied Edinburgh with very little opposition in September. Cope, on his return from the north by sea, was surprised and routed at Prestonpans; and then Charles waited for six weeks at Holyrood before

[1] Anson had distinguished himself previously by a voyage round the world in 1740-4, in the course of which he gained compensation for the loss at sea of five out of his six ships by capturing a Spanish galleon with booty valued at £500,000.

moving south to rouse the Jacobites of England. He believed that he would gain enough support to convince the French that it was worth their while to send him substantial aid.

But, though he followed the old west-coast route of the seventeenth-century royalists and the insurgents of the '15, he found few recruits. Two hundred joined him at Manchester in the end of November, but when he reached Derby on 4th December (130 miles from London) he had not 5000 men; if he advanced farther, he would run the risk of being surrounded by three armies,[1] with no prospect of a popular rising in his favour. The Prince and the army lost heart when they had to move back instead of forward.

Yet there were still two gleams of success before the Stewart cause was finally eclipsed. Near Penrith the vanguard of the pursuers was beaten off with the loss of a hundred men: at Falkirk General Hawley was routed in January 1746 with a loss of three hundred. The Duke of Cumberland, the king's younger son, who had commanded in the Netherlands, had been recalled to the south of England to meet an expected French invasion. He now hastened to Scotland, and made his preparations at Aberdeen in March, while Charles's men were starving in the neighbourhood of Inverness. On 16th April the Jacobites were routed at Culloden Moor, five miles east of Inverness; and by the ruthless manner in which he hunted them down after the battle Cumberland earned the nickname, "Billy the Butcher."

Seventy-seven prisoners were executed, including the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerina, and Lord Lovat. Prince Charles spent five months more in the Highlands as a fugitive before he embarked near his landing-place

[1] (1) The defenders of London at Finchley; (2) the Duke of Cumberland in Staffordshire; (3) General Wade coming south from Yorkshire.

in September. He was befriended by many Highlanders, and particularly by one Flora Macdonald, whom he accompanied for some time in the guise of her maid, "Betty Burke." The Prince revisited Britain in disguise in 1750, but was never again a formidable rival to King George. His father, James III, died at Rome in 1766, after a "reign" of sixty-five years. Charles also died at Rome, in 1788. His brother Henry, a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, the last of the descendants of James II, received a pension from George III and survived till 1807.

In 1747 the old rights of jurisdiction were taken from the chiefs of the Highland clans, who became ordinary landlords as in England. The clansmen were forbidden to carry arms or to wear the Highland dress; the use of the kilt was not allowed again till 1782. On the other hand, only ten years after the battle of Culloden, Highlanders from Jacobite as well as Whig clans were called upon by Pitt to fight for Britain in the great Seven Years' War; and the proceeds of the forfeited estates of Jacobites were used to encourage agriculture, industry, and education in Scotland.

CALENDAR REFORMED.—In 1752 the calendar was reformed, so as to bring the British usage into conformity with that of most continental countries. Between the old method of calculation—the old Roman calendar—and the new, there was a difference of eleven days; and this was redressed by calling the day after the *second* of September the *fourteenth* of September. At the same time the New Year began to be dated from the 1st January instead of from the 25th March ("Lady Day"). As has happened in our own day on the introduction of "Summer Time" or "Daylight Saving," there was a good deal of opposition to the change, and at the next election the Opposition found some supporters for the cry, "Give us back our eleven days."

THE GOVERNMENT IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. —The power of *the Crown* was still considerable in the middle of the eighteenth century. The land it possessed gave it influence in securing the return of friendly members to Parliament: its "patronage" or right of making appointments to many offices gave it the opportunity to purchase support: and in foreign policy the king exercised considerable authority, especially when the interests of Hanover were involved.

The Privy Council was losing its former importance. As advisers of the Crown, the members were superseded by *the Cabinet*, great officers of state and heads of departments, who were practically chosen by the Crown but required to secure the support of Parliament also. Neither the Cabinet nor its head, *the Prime Minister*, had a position authorised by any law or ordinance, but in practice the Cabinet was coming to be "the Government," and the Prime Minister, if a strong man, might direct the Government of Britain. *The Opposition*, too, was becoming better defined as a body of critics, men who did not hold office, but who sought to show the king and the people the mistakes that were being made by ministers, and to convince them that a change would be advisable.

The House of Lords consisted of 174 members. Its prestige had been maintained by the dominance of the Whig aristocracy, and the great majority of the members of the Cabinet were peers (14 out of 16 in 1737). Yet *the House of Commons* (of 558 members) was gradually extending its own power, especially by watching and controlling the policy of ministers in matters of finance. The House was, however, by no means representative of the whole of the people of the country; and corrupt methods were very freely employed to keep the few persons who had the right of voting from giving any independent judgment on political questions. Elections,

which sometimes lasted for weeks and were accompanied by riotous scenes, were generally decided by bribery.

This growth of the power of Parliament was about to meet with a serious check, for the Tory party was at last prepared to transfer its loyalty from the Stewarts to a Hanoverian king, and to assist him to revive the old rights and powers of the Crown.

Literature and Science.—After the fervour and religious excitement of the Puritan Revolution in the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century in Britain was a period of cool common-sense, an age of reason, interested in criticising and finding explanations of things, but not inclined to enthusiasm or passion of any description. Newspapers were published in increasing numbers. Literature and politics were knit together by the discussions of " wits " in the coffee-houses, and by the offer of Government appointments to writers as a reward for their services.

Many interesting " journals " and " letters " survive, which show how eagerly people observed and criticised all that was passing around them. The English novel reached its modern form in the works of Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding (beginning in 1740 and 1742).

Social clubs and scientific and other associations began to flourish. The Society of Antiquarians was founded in 1718, the British Museum in 1753, the Society of Arts (to encourage technical skill) in 1754, and the Royal Academy (for improving the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture) in 1768.

Religious Revival.—The Church had become cold, languid, and " moderate " in the days of Walpole: a reaction was bound to come. It began about 1738 under the Wesleys, John and Charles, who founded the Methodist party, but had at last to recognise that they stood outside the Established Church. John Wesley was

a great organiser and a very hard worker. He spread all over Britain a belief in the seriousness of life and an earnestness of purpose which were greatly needed in an age that was keenly—and almost exclusively—interested in the things of this world. An "evangelical" party which remained within the Church of England also exerted itself to purify society and to apply Christian standards to the practical concerns of life. It was these people who, towards the end of the century, led the movement against the slave trade, and encouraged missionary work abroad and social reforms at home.

Social Conditions.—Something was done for the relief of destitution and the prevention of crime by the establishment of the Foundling Hospital in 1741, the equipping of poor boys for service in the Navy, and the settlement of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, in 1749 largely by means of disbanded soldiers. At the other end of the Atlantic seaboard—to the south of the older colonies—another colony, Georgia, was founded in 1732 with the object of giving to poor debtors a fresh start in a new country, where they would uphold the interests of Britain against Spain.

The police system was exceedingly inefficient, and street robberies were very common. Highwaymen flourished on the great coach routes: Dick Turpin, the best known of them, was executed at York in 1739. In London itself, what is now called "hooliganism" was the diversion of some small bands of men of fashion who were known generally as "Mohocks," from a tribe of Red Indians who also took delight in torturing their captives. An attempt to reform the police of London was made in 1753 by the establishment of the "Bow Street runners," on the advice of the novelist Henry Fielding, who was himself a magistrate; but the improvement did not long continue.

Drinking and gambling were fashionable in the highest society at this time. Dress was elaborate and costly: even men wore velvets and silks; the hooped petticoat and high head-dresses satirised by Addison remained fashionable for half a century after his death in 1719.

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.—British trade was expanding rapidly, and Government sought especially to encourage commerce with the colonies. Manufacturers were prospering, but were not yet making any great improvements in their methods or machinery. In the country, farmers were generally handicapped by the mediæval open-field system which still prevailed in the greater part of Britain. Notable efforts were, however, made to grow better crops, as by Lord Townshend in Norfolk; and to rear heavier sheep and cattle, as by Robert Bakewell in Lincolnshire. Britain produced more than enough corn for her own needs, and the Government encouraged farmers to keep plenty of land in cultivation by paying a bounty on the export of corn when the home supply was abundant and the price did not exceed 48s. Thus agriculture could be profitable even when prices were low, and the great landowners could obtain high rents.

48. PITT'S WAR FOR COLONIES AND EMPIRE, AND GEORGE III'S PEACE, 1755-64

THE WAR OF THE THREE PETTICOATS.—In 1755 there was fighting between the French and the British in America—as there had been for some time in India—and reinforcements were sent by both Governments. Further, the British seized French ships at sea, and a declaration of war was delayed by France only until her preparations should be complete. Britain made a treaty with Prussia: France entered into alliance with her old

enemy, Austria. This change of alliances is known as "the Diplomatic Revolution."

Maria Theresa secured the aid of the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, and of Madame de Pompadour, the favourite of Louis XV, who really directed the policy of France, to help Austria to recover Silesia from Frederick of Prussia, who had offended both Elizabeth and Madame de Pompadour by his biting sarcasms. From these three ladies the European war of 1756-63 was called "the War of the Three Petticoats."

In 1756 an invasion of England was expected, and troops were imported from Germany (Hanover and Hesse) to defend the country. Minorca was taken by the French, and Admiral Sir John Byng was shot for failing to relieve it.

When the outlook was still very gloomy, William Pitt entered the ministry, and became its real head, as Secretary of State.

PITT'S WAR POLICY.—The essential features of Pitt's war policy were :—(*a*) Britain must command the sea ; the enemy's fleets must be rendered harmless by keeping them locked up in their own ports, and by crushing them if they venture out to sea ; (*b*) Britain must then strike with full force at the French power in America, while no help can reach Canada from Europe ; (*c*) Prussia must be well supplied with money, to keep France occupied in Europe. Expeditions against the French coast, like the air-raids of a later war, served the purpose of destroying arsenals and stores, distracted the enemy's attention and forced him to be on his guard at many points, while keeping the people of the coast districts in a state of alarm or panic.

THE WAR IN AMERICA.—In America in the middle of the eighteenth century, France held the lines of the great rivers St Lawrence and Mississippi, and sought to connect these by forts along the line of the Ohio. The

British had occupied the coast from Nova Scotia to Georgia,[1] but had not expanded west of the Alleghany Mountains. If the French could hold the Ohio, the British colonies would be shut out from the west of the continent with its resources in furs and other articles of trade. The country west of the Mississippi was not opened up till long after this date, and was still inhabited only by Indians who hunted beaver and buffalo.

At two points the Alleghanies are cut by passes of the greatest importance for trade or war. (1) From New York, the line of the Hudson River leads (*a*) to Lakes George and Champlain and the Richelieu River, a tributary of the St Lawrence; and (*b*) to the Mohawk River, Lake Oneida, and Lake Ontario. (2) From Virginia, the Potomac can be traced to a gap where it nearly meets the head-waters of other streams which help to form the southern branch of the Ohio.[2]

(1) In 1714-20 the French fortified Louisbourg, in Cape Breton Island, to guard the front door of Canada; and (2) in 1731 Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, to guard the back door. The British replied (1) by colonising Halifax in 1749, and (2) by founding Fort William Henry on Lake George in 1735. (3) The French guarded the road to the West through the Great Lakes by the posts of Frontenac[3] (1673), and Niagara (1725): the British planted Oswego on their flank in 1726. (4) For the Ohio road to the West there was a race in 1754: George Washington, the Virginian leader, was beaten by force of numbers, and the French established Fort Duquesne

[1] These two frontier settlements, the former in the north towards French Canada, the latter towards the Spanish dominions in the south, were the only colonies that had been added to Britain's possessions on the American continent since Charles II's time.

[2] The northern branch of the Ohio, rising near Lake Erie, was already commanded by the French.

[3] Now Kingston (Ontario).

at the junction of the two branches or "forks of the Ohio."

In 1755 General Braddock came over from Britain with two regiments to seize Fort Duquesne, and expeditions were prepared in the colonies against Crown Point and against Niagara. All of these expeditions failed, Braddock's most disastrously of all: he and most of his men were ambushed and slain in July. In 1756 the French took Oswego, and, in 1757, Fort William Henry.

But in 1758 the British, now directed by Pitt, had three great successes: (1) General Amherst took Louisbourg, the key to the St Lawrence; (2) John Bradstreet, a New Englander, took Fort Frontenac and with it the French naval force for Lake Ontario, and the stores intended for Fort Duquesne; (3) Fort Duquesne was accordingly abandoned on the advance of Brigadier John Forbes, and its place was taken by the British Fort Pitt—now the great steel-manufacturing town of Pittsburgh.

CONQUEST OF CANADA.—Although in 1758 General Abercrombie failed to take Ticonderoga, Amherst in 1759 captured both that post and Crown Point, while General Prideaux secured Niagara, commanding the passage to the western lakes. Quebec was besieged by General James Wolfe in June, but the season was nearing a close when a desperate attempt was made in September by climbing the heights a mile and a half above the town. The garrison was surprised, and in the battle which followed (on the Plains of Abraham) the British were successful. Both Wolfe and the French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, were killed. The town surrendered a day or two later to Wolfe's successor, Lord Townshend.

At the end of April 1760 the French came down the river from Montreal and attempted to retake Quebec before the St Lawrence should again be open to navigation. They won a battle at Sainte-Foy, but a few days later news arrived of the approach of English reinforce-

ments, and the French had to withdraw. Such aid as France could send was intercepted; and three British columns advanced on Montreal from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain. These united round the town, and next day Montreal—and the whole of Canada—was surrendered to the British.

THE WAR IN INDIA.—From the time of Elizabeth to that of Anne, India was ruled by four successive Mohammedan emperors, the "Great Moguls," who had their capitals at Agra and Delhi; but, in the first half of the eighteenth century, this Empire broke up, partly on account of attacks by Persians and Afghans from the north-west; partly on account of risings in the west and centre by the Hindu "Marathas"; and partly because the emperors themselves were then less able and warlike.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, matters had become so bad that there was no power in India with which the Europeans could make a treaty that would secure them in the enjoyment of peaceful trade: each native prince was fighting for his own hand. For self-protection the English and French Companies found it necessary (1) to make alliances with native powers; (2) to build forts and maintain troops of their own; and (3) to assume control of a certain amount of territory in order to strengthen their defences and secure a revenue to meet the expense involved.

The French were the more successful at first. During the Austrian Succession War, they took Madras in 1746, but had to restore it by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Before long, both France and Britain were again involved in native wars. The French had the best of it until Robert Clive, a clerk in the English Company's employment, transferred himself from their commercial to their military service in 1751. Dupleix, the French Governor at Pondicherry, made far-seeing plans for the benefit of his masters; but he had no great military

commander whom he could pit against Clive. In 1754 he was recalled to France, and the British were left victorious in the Carnatic (the south-east coast district).

CLIVE'S VICTORY AT PLASSEY.—In June 1756 the English at Calcutta were attacked by the native ruler, Suraj-ud-daula, who had just succeeded his grandfather as Viceroy of Bengal, and one hundred and forty-six prisoners were shut up through a midsummer night in a cell eighteen feet by fourteen—"the Black Hole of Calcutta." A hundred and twenty-three of them were dead before the morning; but their murder provoked measures in reply which led directly to the rise of the British Empire in Northern India. Clive came north from Madras, defeated the Viceroy at Plassey (June 1757), and put another in his place. He crushed the French (and later the Dutch) settlements in Bengal, to prevent the native rulers from playing off one European power against another.

The French capital itself surrendered in 1761; the French power in India came to an end.

NAVAL VICTORIES.—In 1759 the French planned an invasion of Britain, and fleets were prepared at Brest and at Toulon. These were blockaded by two British squadrons. When the Toulon fleet put to sea in August it was destroyed by Admiral Boscawen, off Lagos, near Cape St Vincent, south-west of Portugal.

The project of invasion was then reduced in scale, and Scotland was made its object. The Brest fleet escaped, but it encountered the British under Admiral Hawke in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Brittany, and was completely crushed. After these two victories there was little to be feared from the French at sea. Fifty-eight of their battleships and frigates were captured during the year, and went to strengthen the British Navy.

The defeat of the French in the struggle for "Ships, Colonies, Commerce," was one of the most important

events of the eighteenth century. After the "year of victories," 1759, France sought to make a separate peace with Britain, but Pitt refused to desert his ally, the King of Prussia.

GEORGE III AND PEACE.—George III was twenty-two years old when he ascended the throne on his father's death in October 1760. He had been trained by his mother, who retained the title of Princess of Wales, and by her friend the Earl of Bute. They urged, in accordance with the views of Bolingbroke, that the king should be above party—a "Patriot King," who should choose wise advisers from any party, and in the interests of the whole nation keep the decision in his own hands. This doctrine is the basis of "the New Toryism," distinguished from the old Toryism, which was associated with Jacobitism.

George was anxious, therefore, to put an end to the government of the great Whig families or "connections." He set himself, with the aid of Bute, to overthrow Newcastle and Pitt; and, in order to be able to do without the great war minister, it was necessary to make peace. Pitt resigned in 1761, and Bute stopped the subsidies to Frederick of Prussia.

TERMS OF THE PEACE OF PARIS.—In November 1762 the preliminaries of peace were agreed to: "the king's friends" carried them through Parliament, in spite of a general feeling that the terms were not as good as they might be; and on 10th February 1763 the Peace of Paris was finally signed.[1]

(1) Britain gained *from France* Canada (with Cape Breton Island); Grenada in the West Indies; and Senegal in West Africa. Minorca was also restored to Britain by France.

[1] Frederick of Prussia, who in 1758 had won great victories over the French at Rossbach and over the Austrians at Leuthen, made peace a few days later without giving up an inch of territory to any of his foes.

(2) Britain gained *from Spain* Florida. (As compensation for this, France ceded to Spain Louisiana, that is, North America west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains.)

(3) Britain retained all her conquests *in India*, except what the French had held in 1749.

(4) Britain restored *to France* Guadeloupe, Martinique, and St Lucia in the West Indies ; and renewed the grant of French fishing rights in Newfoundland, to which were added rights in the Gulf of St Lawrence.

(5) Britain restored *to Spain* Havana in Cuba and the Philippine Islands in the Far East.

49. DISCONTENTS AT HOME AND IN AMERICA, 1763-75

JOHN WILKES.—In April 1763, No. 45 of the newspaper *The North Briton* criticised the king's speech on proroguing Parliament four days before, as containing false statements with regard to the peace. It declared that George III, in expressing the view that the peace was satisfactory, had given the sanction of his name "to the most unjustifiable public declarations from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue." The king ordered that legal proceedings should be taken against those who were responsible for No. 45 ; and a "general warrant" was issued against the writers, printers, and publishers, no names being given. The writer, John Wilkes, and a number of others, were arrested. Wilkes pleaded that, as a Member of Parliament, he was privileged against arrest, and Chief-Justice Pratt ordered his release. Pratt also declared that "general warrants" were illegal, and Wilkes and others obtained damages against the officers who had acted under the warrant.

When Parliament met again in November, it voted

that No. 45 of *The North Briton* was a false and seditious libel, and declared that the privilege of Parliament should not protect anyone guilty of such an offence. No. 45 was ordered to be burned by the hangman; but the mob rescued at least part of it, and burned a boot and a petticoat instead.[1] Wilkes had been wounded in a duel, and had gone to Paris: in his absence he was expelled from the House of Commons and outlawed in January 1764. Office-holders who voted against the Government in these matters were dismissed from their posts.

GRENVILLE AND THE STAMP ACT.—The great object of George Grenville, who succeeded Bute as head of the Ministry, was to secure economy, but he took bad methods both of saving and of raising money. The navy was allowed to suffer for want of good timber and prompt repairs; highway robberies were numerous even in towns, because a strong police was not kept up.

Another of Grenville's ideas—the taxation of the colonies—also proved to be ill-timed and unlucky. The plan did not appear unreasonable in itself. The victories of Wolfe and Amherst had freed the American colonists from the French peril. There remained an Indian peril, and the French encouraged an Indian attack on the western trading posts in 1763. This was successfully met with the aid of British troops; and the colonists then felt themselves safe from warlike aggression. The British Government did not take this view: it held that it might still be necessary to protect the colonies, and, in any case, that the colonists should contribute to meet the burdens imposed on the home country by what was mainly "a colony war." The several colonies could not agree as to the share which each of them should contribute, and the only power which could settle the matter was Parliament.

Grenville had already made the British Government unpopular in the northern colonies by an attempt to put

[1] Emblems intended to represent Bute and the Princess of Wales.

down their smuggling trade with foreign colonies in the West Indies: he now proposed to require that all legal documents used in the colonies should bear a Government stamp, for which a small sum should be paid. He gave a year's notice before "the Stamp Act" should come into force, in order that the colonies might bring forward any other plan which might be more agreeable to them. The colonists did not think of anything but resisting the Stamp Act, and violent rioting occurred in several provinces. A general Congress at New York was attended by representatives from nine of the thirteen colonies, and petitions against the Act were sent to Britain. When the Act nominally came into force on 1st November 1765 it was everywhere resisted, and before long lawyers conducted business as usual without regard to the absence of stamps.

The colonists urged that, while Parliament could regulate the trade of the Empire (by duties on the import and export of goods), it could not impose a tax in order to raise money, that is, a grant of their money could not be made by an Assembly in which they were not represented. This distinction was not sound in constitutional theory. Parliament had authority to make laws of any description for the whole Empire, and there were many people even in Britain who were not represented in Parliament. But it was very unwise of the Government to insist on executing laws which a whole people was determined to withstand.

Stamp Act Repealed: New Duties Imposed.—A Whig ministry in 1766 repealed the Stamp Act, though it declared at the same time that Parliament had the *right* to tax the colonies. The outlook in the colonies was so threatening that there was a general desire to bring Pitt back into office. In July 1766 Rockingham resigned, and a new ministry was formed with Pitt as its nominal head. But, as illness prevented him from giving

constant attention to public affairs, he took a minor office, and went to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham.

Chatham's illness became worse, and during 1767 and 1768 he took no part in politics. In his absence, Townshend, a brilliant and witty speaker but an imprudent and capricious leader, boasted that he would undertake to raise a revenue from the colonies for their own defence. Accordingly, in 1767 an Act was passed laying duties on the importation of tea, paper, glass, and paints into the colonies. The colonies again corresponded with each other with a view to resistance. Agreements were made by their merchants to import none of the taxed articles.

The American resistance injured British merchants so much that in 1769 the Cabinet decided to repeal the duties. But by a majority of one—a majority secured only by the king's personal wishes—ministers agreed that the tea-duty should be retained as an assertion of the *right* of Parliament to tax the colonies.

Reforms Demanded at Home.—About 1769 Associations were formed, and many public meetings were held, to demand the reform of abuses and of corruption in Parliament. At this time, too, the Government was assailed by violent letters in London newspapers, the ablest and bitterest of which were signed "Junius." The author was never discovered, but the "Junius" letters and some of the others are generally thought to have been written by Philip Francis, who was then a clerk in the War Office.

Of more lasting value, because less personal and abusive, was Edmund Burke's *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* (1770). In this pamphlet, Burke declared: "When popular discontents have been very prevalent, it may well be affirmed and supported that there has been generally something found amiss in

the constitution or in the conduct of Government. The people have no interest in disorder."

Under the system which prevailed in the eighteenth century, only a small proportion of the people had the right to vote at the election of members of Parliament.

Each country had two members, and so had each of a large number of corporate boroughs. In the counties the voters were those farmers who owned their land and derived from it a revenue of forty shillings a year—" the forty-shilling freeholders."

In the towns, the franchise varied greatly, according to the terms of the charter that had been granted. Many boroughs were decayed, and the few remaining voters were very ready to sell their votes : these were known as " rotten boroughs." Many others were entirely under the influence of great landowners, on whom the inhabitants were more or less dependent : such boroughs were called " pocket boroughs " or " nomination boroughs," as the patron could secure the election of a member almost as readily as he could present a clergyman to a living. On the other hand, new towns which had grown up in recent times had no representatives of their own, and the townsfolk could vote in the counties only if they held land to the annual value of forty shillings.

In 1770 Chatham returned to the House of Lords, and assumed the lead of the Opposition. Lord North became chief minister. North was a good-natured man of considerable ability, but he allowed himself to be the mere instrument of the king's personal policy. He put the wishes of the king before what he believed to be the interests of the nation, sacrificed his own judgment and inclinations, and remained in office to carry out a policy in American affairs of which he really disapproved.

The Boston Tea-party.—In America, matters drifted gradually towards war. The Boston mob amused itself by baiting the soldiers stationed in the town, and at

last succeeded in goading them into firing. Five of the mob were killed, but the American leaders gained their object—the troops were removed from the town to an island in the bay. This incident, which occurred in 1770, was known in America as "the Boston Massacre."

The schooner *Gaspée*, employed in the king's service against smugglers, was burned by the people of Rhode Island in 1773. In December of that year some tea-ships which had arrived at Boston were boarded by a mob disguised as Indians, and their cargo emptied into the harbour.

In 1774 the Government announced its reply to "the Boston Tea-party." The harbour of that town was to be closed; the charter of the colony (Massachusetts Bay) was to be taken away and the government to be kept more under the control of the Crown. Arrangements were made for quartering troops wherever they were required, and for the trial in England of persons accused of capital offences in executing the laws in Massachusetts. The Americans called these measures "the Four Intolerable Acts."

General sympathy with the people of Boston was shown in America. A Congress of twelve colonies met in September 1774 at Philadelphia. In this assembly the extreme party obtained the upper hand; it demanded the repeal of the recent Acts and recommended that militia should be organised to resist them.

North carried a motion in 1775 offering to exempt from taxation by Parliament any colony which of its own accord agreed to provide its fair share of the expense of government and defence. But it was now too late for any such moderate proposal to find acceptance, and in the colonies it was evident that war was not far distant.

First Partition of Poland.—In 1772 occurred "the first Partition of Poland." Poland had long been in a disorderly state, to which its constitution contributed,

for a king was *elected* at each vacancy, and in the assembly or Diet a single vote could prevent the passing of a measure. The neighbours of Poland did not wish it to reform itself and become a powerful state: Frederick the Great of Prussia desired bits of Polish territory to round off his own possessions, and he induced Russia and Austria to join in a "partition."[1] What was left in 1772 was similarly devoured in 1793 and 1795.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.—About this time history began to be written in a more scientific way, as in Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the first part of which appeared in 1776. In this year, the year of the American Declaration of Independence, there was also published Adam Smith's *Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which really established the science of political economy. On political questions many thoughtful works were produced in Britain as well as in France, the most valuable being those of Edmund Burke.

In natural and medical science, too, discoveries were made by British geologists, chemists, and physicians. Evidence of the practical use of some of these reforms is seen in the fall in the London death-rate, from 47½ per thousand in 1730 to 36 in 1770, and 28 in 1800. Voyages of discovery were undertaken, notably those of Captain James Cook, who explored the coasts of Australia and New Zealand (1768-70).

PRISON REFORM.—From 1773 John Howard led a movement for reform in the condition of prisons. Very many crimes were still punished with death, and the pillory and public whippings were among the sights of

[1] In 1772 Prussia acquired West Prussia (without Danzig and Thorn), and Austria secured Galicia. West Prussia had separated East Prussia from Pomerania and Brandenburg. Posen, Danzig, and Thorn were added to Prussia in 1793, and Warsaw with the country between it and East Prussia in 1795.

everyday life. Something was done for the prevention of crime as well as for improving the treatment of the criminal. Sunday schools were begun in 1780, and in many cases they were attended by children who went to no other school.

TRAVELLING AND SPORT.—Roads and stage-coaches were greatly improved after the passing of the Turnpike Act of 1755,[1] especially in the last quarter of the century, and it began to be possible to regard travelling as a pleasure. In the later part of the eighteenth century, some of our modern sports were becoming popular. The first English regatta (rowing competition) was held on the Thames in 1775; the first "Derby" (horse-race) was run at Epsom in 1780; the M.C.C. (Marylebone Cricket Club) was formed in 1787.

THE DRAMA AND ART.—On the stage there flourished the greatest of British actors—David Garrick, who died in 1779; in the next generation he was followed by John Kemble and his sister Mrs Siddons, and Elizabeth Farren, who became Countess of Derby. British painting, too, in the later part of the century, reached a high level in the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, and George Romney.

SCOTLAND SINCE THE UNION.—Scotland was slow to benefit from the advantages of the Union with England. Besides the fisheries along the coast and the cattle-rearing on which the Highlands almost entirely depended, the chief industries before the '45 were linen (at Glasgow) and yarn or thread (at Paisley). The woollens of Hawick (tweeds) and the carpets of Kilmarnock came later in the century. Glasgow began to build ships of her own in

[1] This provided for the erection of "turnpikes" or toll-gates, where tolls were exacted from those using the road, and applied to meet the cost of making and repairing the road. Turnpikes survived in the neighbourhood of London as late as 1872, and still later in other parts of the country.

1718, and Greenock entered the American trade a year later. Glasgow took a leading part in the tobacco trade with Virginia, and Greenock in the sugar trade with the West Indies. By 1792 over seven hundred vessels were owned in Glasgow. Of no less importance to the prosperity of Scotland was the development of coal-mining and ironworks—notably the Carron Ironworks near Falkirk, in 1760. The Forth and Clyde Canal was completed in 1790.

From 1752 to 1784 the rent of the estates forfeited to the Crown after the last Jacobite rising (about £5000 a year) was applied to the improvement of waste land and the building of schools in the Highlands. The estates were restored to the heirs of their old owners in 1784. When the old authority of the chiefs over the clansmen was taken away after the '45, and they became mere landlords, some of them began to enclose large tracts of land for sheep-farming, and many of their tenants found it necessary to emigrate to the American colonies in order to obtain a living. It was a period of active recruiting in the Highlands, and in the next seventy years the kilted regiments had abundant opportunities of winning glory in all parts of the world. Both in the Highlands and in the Lowlands attention was paid to agriculture, which was conducted on more scientific lines, especially in the Lothians.

The famous medical school of Edinburgh University was founded in 1720. Scotland produced many great thinkers and writers in the eighteenth century, among whom may be mentioned Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, David Hume the philosopher and historian, Adam Smith the political economist, and James Watt the engineer.

50. THE IMPERIAL CIVIL WAR, 1775-83

HOSTILITIES IN AMERICA, 1775.—The first collision between British troops and American militia occurred at Lexington in April 1775, when the British attempted to remove certain stores from the reach of the men of Massachusetts. The British lost over two hundred killed and wounded. The rebellion had begun.

General Gage was shut up in Boston, and, with the country hostile to him, he did not venture to move away from the coast. Congress met again at Philadelphia, and appointed George Washington of Virginia commander-in-chief of the continental army. Two days later the British troops at Boston, at the cost of a thousand men killed and wounded, drove the Americans from a hill commanding the town — Bunker Hill or Breed's Hill.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776. — General William Howe, who had succeeded Gage as commander at Boston, had to abandon Boston in March 1776. He and his brother, Lord Howe, the Admiral, were commissioned to offer a general pardon, the repeal of the tea-duty, and the abandonment of Parliamentary taxation, if the colonies would contribute their share of Imperial defence. But just as the brothers Howe arrived off New York, the thirteen colonies in Congress at Philadelphia on 4th July 1776 declared their independence as the United States of America. It was too late for the Howes to effect anything as Peace Commissioners: the Americans would treat only on the basis of independence.

CHANGING FORTUNES.—In September the British occupied New York. In November Lord Cornwallis chased Washington through New Jersey, but was just too late to prevent him from escaping across the Dela-

ware. Washington returned and surprised the garrison at Trenton. During the next three weeks he drove the British out of West New Jersey.

British ships came up the St Lawrence in May 1776 with reinforcements for Quebec, and by the end of June the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, had cleared a force of American invaders out of Canada.

The plan of operations for 1777 was prepared in Britain. General Burgoyne was to work south from Crown Point, while Howe pushed north from New York to join him and so secure the line of the Hudson River, which would enable the British to cut off the northern from the southern colonies.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER.—Howe, unfortunately, was allowed to develop a plan of his own for first taking Philadelphia, the rebel "capital," where Congress was meeting. At the end of September he occupied Philadelphia; but he had thrown away any chance of giving help to Burgoyne from New York.

Burgoyne found stronger opposition than had been expected, for the people of the countryside fought against him, and made the most of the natural obstacles to his progress, such as woods and streams. He could proceed only very slowly, but he continued to advance in the hope that a force from the south was coming to his rescue. At last, after a fight against odds of four to one, it became clear that no aid was to be expected, and also that retreat was impossible. By the convention of Saratoga, Burgoyne surrendered with 5700 men.[1]

THE WAR AT SEA.—Saratoga was the great turning-point of the war. It encouraged France to join the Americans, in the hope of striking an effective blow at Britain and obtaining revenge for the disasters of "Pitt's War." The French brought to the help of the Americans

[1] This includes camp-followers, etc. His fighting force was much smaller.

a fleet which played a decisive part in the struggle for independence.

In 1778 Sir Henry Clinton took the place of Sir William Howe as the British commander. Philadelphia was abandoned, and the troops concentrated on New York to meet an expected attack by the French. The French fleet appeared off New York and at Newport in Rhode Island, but made very little show of fighting. It soon sailed off to make conquests for France in the West Indies. Before the end of 1778 the British had occupied Georgia. Its capital, Savannah, was successfully defended in 1779 against the French and Americans.

On both sides cruisers were employed to attack the enemy's merchant shipping: the most famous of the privateer leaders was John Paul Jones, who, in 1778 and 1779, fought for the Americans with great success off the shores of Scotland and Ireland.

In 1779, Spain joined the enemies of Britain; her most striking achievement was a siege of Gibraltar, which went on for three years with fierce bombardments: the defence was brilliantly and successfully conducted by George Eliott, later Lord Heathfield.

Both in 1779 and in 1780 the French and Spanish fleets commanded the English Channel for a time, but they did not venture to attempt a landing.

The British Navy was suffering from corrupt administration—the ships in bad repair, the stores rotten, the men below the proper standard both in numbers and in quality.

IRISH AFFAIRS.—Troops had been withdrawn from Ireland to such an extent that the Government welcomed the raising of volunteers to defend the country. The volunteers, who by 1782 numbered 80,000 showed themselves anxious for the redress of Ireland's grievances; and in the years 1778 and 1780 the restrictions on Irish trade were removed, and some of the harshest measures

against the Catholics were abandoned. There remained the grievances of absentee landlords, an alien Church, and the government of the country by Protestants in the interests of England. In the words of Henry Grattan, the Irish leader of the day: "The question is whether we shall remain a Protestant settlement or become an Irish nation."

The reformers were therefore still unsatisfied, and in 1780 a demand was made that the Irish Parliament should be free to legislate for the country without the consent of the English Council, which had been required under Poyning's Law (1494). This also was conceded in 1782.

GORDON RIOTS.—A measure for the relief of Roman Catholics in England was carried in 1778, and it was then proposed to extend it to Scotland. A violent opposition was aroused, at the head of which was the eccentric Lord George Gordon. On 2nd June 1780 he went to present a petition to Parliament attended by a mob of 60,000. His followers got out of hand, and destroyed several chapels. A week of rioting followed: shops and houses were plundered and burned, and the prisoners in Newgate and other gaols set free. As the magistrates and ministers seemed to be afraid to act, the king himself called upon the soldiers to restore order. Some hundreds of people lost their lives in these "Gordon Riots," and twenty-one of those arrested were executed.

In 1791 another measure of relief was granted to the Roman Catholics in England, and this was extended to Scotland in 1793. They could then worship freely and educate their children: they could be lawyers, but not yet Members of Parliament or office-holders under the Crown.

MORE ENEMIES IN EUROPE.—In 1780 the odds against Britain were increased by the formation of "the Armed Neutrality" by Russia and the other Baltic powers, with the object of opposing by force the seizure of neutral ships

which were carrying goods other than military stores to Britain's enemies. The Dutch, too, resented interference with their trade, and the merchants of Amsterdam took all possible advantage of Britain's difficulties. When they were found to be treating on friendly terms with the Americans, Britain declared war in December 1780. Admiral George Rodney at once seized the Dutch island of St Eustatius in the West Indies, which was the great market for trade with the Americans: the booty was estimated at four million pounds sterling (February 1781).

Surrender of Cornwallis.—In May 1781, Lord Cornwallis invaded Virginia, and was overrunning the province, when General Clinton, in view of an expected attack on New York by French and American troops and a French fleet, directed him to send part of his forces to New York, and to withdraw the rest to a safe position on the coast. Cornwallis retired to the peninsula between the James River and the York River; and the French and the Americans, having deceived Clinton, concentrated their attack on Cornwallis's force.

The British admirals Hood and Graves failed to secure Chesapeake Bay, and the French fleet at sea and the Americans on land completely blockaded Cornwallis. In October the British force of nearly 7000 men had to surrender.

Little hope remained of reducing the Americans to submission, and so far as they were concerned the war was now really at an end. It had been decided by Britain's loss of command of the sea, owing to the concentration of France's naval power in American waters.

More than seven years elapsed after the surrender at Yorktown before the constitution of the United States was adopted and put into force under the presidency of George Washington, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

EVENTS AT HOME.—Lord North resigned in March 1782, and the king had to accept a Whig ministry. Lord Rockingham, its chief, died in July; but in the four months of his government several very important events had taken place.

(1) An Act proposed by Edmund Burke abolished a number of useless offices, which had been largely used as a means of bribery and corruption: this saved the nation £72,000 a year.

(2) William Pitt, a younger son of the great Earl of Chatham, proposed an inquiry into the way in which the people were represented in Parliament; but those who benefited by the existing abuses managed to have the motion rejected.

(3) As has been stated, the Irish Parliament, supported by the volunteers, demanded power to make laws without the previous approval of the English authorities; and this was granted in May. For the next eighteen years Ireland had an independent—though Protestant—Parliament, generally called "Grattan's Parliament."

"BREAKING THE LINE."—In 1782 Rodney won a great naval victory over the French in the West Indies, called after some small islands "the Battle of The Saints." The usual tactics in sea-fights before this had been to form two lines of battle and engage ship to ship all along the front. The Battle of The Saints was remarkable for the adoption by the British of the new tactics of "breaking the line" of the enemy's ships, and thus cutting off a portion of his fleet and concentrating upon it an overwhelming attack.

INDEPENDENCE OF U.S.A.: FOUNDING OF GREATER CANADA.—In September 1782 the independence of the United States was recognised, but peace was not finally concluded with France and Spain till a year later. The loyalists were badly treated by the Americans, and some thirty or forty thousand of them went north and founded

on the shores of the Great Lakes a British Canada, which strengthened the Canada conquered from the French in 1760. It is to the exile of the loyalists from their old homes that we owe the founding of Greater Canada as a British Dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific: the expansion of the United States over the "Great North-West" has been checked by the descendants of those whom they oppressed.

France gained a little in the West Indies and West Africa; and Spain recovered Florida. The Dutch, on the other hand, lost Negapatam (on the east coast of India, south of Madras), and the Amsterdam traders became more than ever hostile to Britain.

51. PITT THE YOUNGER AND THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE, 1783-95

PITT THE YOUNGER.—In 1783 Charles James Fox, who had become the spokesman of the extreme Radicals, made an alliance with North, the Tory leader. The Government had a good majority in the House of Commons, but King George dismissed Fox, and called upon the young William Pitt, then twenty-four years old, to form a ministry and face the Commons even without a majority.

The king had succeeded in getting rid of Fox; but Pitt, like his father, was not a submissive leader of "the king's friends": he looked to the people for approval as well as to the Crown.

In the early years of his long ministry Pitt had not a certain majority for all his proposals. In 1785 he proposed a measure of Parliamentary reform—to buy out those who had rights or power over "pocket" boroughs, to take away from decayed boroughs the right of returning Members of Parliament, and to assign the members to the counties and to London. About 100,000 more persons

would have obtained the right of voting under this scheme ; but even a first reading of the bill was refused by the House of Commons by 248 to 174. Another reform which Pitt supported—the abolition of the slave trade—was rejected by the Commons in 1791, and was shelved by the Lords in 1792.

Pitt was also defeated in 1785 in his attempt to establish Free Trade with Ireland. Selfish interests on both sides, especially the manufacturers of Lancashire, raised a violent opposition : the plan was first reduced in scope, and then abandoned altogether. Pitt had greater success a year later in making a commercial treaty with France, which reduced the duties on many articles, and was a step in the direction of Free Trade.

Reform and Economy. — Of Pitt's reforms in national finance two are specially worthy of being remembered. (1) He made the customs and excise duties much simpler. Articles were formerly subject to duties under several heads, and it was difficult to calculate how much had to be paid. Henceforth each article was to be subject to a single duty. The proceeds of these duties were along with other taxes put into a single fund—" the Consolidated Fund "—out of which the current expenses and the interest on the National Debt (" Consols ") are paid. Duties were not only simplified, but reduced. Tea had been the principal item in a great smuggling business which employed 40,000 persons and reduced the customs receipts to a trifle. The tea duty was now reduced by nine-tenths, and the smugglers found their trade no longer worth the risk.

(2) In 1786 Pitt established another fund by setting aside a million pounds every year, and investing it at compound interest. This was to be used to reduce the National Debt by paying off the principal, and it was therefore known as " the Sinking Fund." In 1786 Pitt was able to show that in two years he had increased the

revenue from £12,500,000 to £15,500,000, and reduced expenditure from £18,000,000 to £14,500,000. This Sinking Fund was unwisely continued during the war with France, when money had to be borrowed at a higher rate of interest than the Government obtained on the Fund itself. This practice was not abandoned till 1823, when it was resolved that no additions should be made to the Fund except from any surplus in the annual accounts.[1]

A great diplomatic success against French influence was won in 1788 by the British Ambassador at The Hague. The Prince of Orange's party, friendly to Britain, obtained the upper hand in Holland, and these powers were joined in a Triple Alliance by Prussia, which had been unfriendly to Britain since the stoppage of Frederick the Great's subsidy in 1762.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—In the summer of 1789 the French Revolution began. A National Assembly (the first for one hundred and seventy-five years) met in May to provide for the financial needs of the government, and to give the people an opportunity of stating their grievances. These referred especially to a fairer distribution of the burden of taxation, the abolition of many privileges held since feudal times by the nobility, and the provision of some permanent means of controlling the arbitrary government of the king and his officials—the making of a constitution. The king was found to be less friendly to reforms than had been hoped: he had troops brought up to threaten Paris. To save themselves from being taken between two fires, the people of Paris rose on 14th July, and after a struggle, managed to secure the surrender of the great prison and stronghold known as "the Bastille." Riots took place throughout the country, and

[1] For Pitt's regulation of the government of the East India Company's possessions, and for the foundation of a British colony in Australia, see pp. 286 and 283.

many nobles and others were murdered. In October the king and queen were brought by the mob from their palace of Versailles to Paris, where they remained under the eyes of the revolutionary leaders, while the Assembly attempted to prepare a new constitution.

Many Englishmen believed that the Revolution would end in the establishment of a constitution like that of Britain; but Burke took a less hopeful view of a movement which was carried on by means of mob-violence. His *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in November 1790, foretold that the Revolution would lead to bloodshed and a war of conquests.

Disputes with Spain and Russia.—In 1790 Britain prepared for war with Spain to defend her rights to trade and settle at Vancouver Island; and in 1791 similar preparations were made to prevent Russia from expanding southward to the Black Sea at the expense of Turkey (by taking Ochakov). In the former case Spain found that the French revolutionists would no longer maintain the Bourbon "Family Compact," and without French aid Spain had to give way. In the case of Russia, British opinion did not support the idea of a war in the east of Europe; and Pitt in the end had to allow Ochakov to be annexed by Russia.[1]

French Revolutionists at War with Austria and Prussia.—In 1791 the French king had to accept the new constitution which the Assembly had been preparing. The nobles had been deprived of their old feudal privileges, and many of them emigrated across the Rhine. The revolutionary leaders considered it a grievance that large numbers of their enemies—the *émigrés*—should be allowed by German princes to gather forces on the frontier; and, at the same time, they themselves gave offence to the

[1] Ochakov did not become important in later history. Its place as the headquarters of Russian trade on the Black Sea was taken by Odessa.

Emperor by attempting to extend their democratic changes to neighbouring German states.

Feeling between France and Austria became very hostile, and in 1792 both sides were willing to go to war. The revolutionists were divided into several sections, and the party in power, the Girondists,[1] hoped to put an end to squabbling within France by uniting all sections under their own lead in a war against foreign interference.

It was strongly suspected, and not without reason, that the king and queen were in friendly communication with the enemies of France. An attack was made on the Tuileries, the palace in Paris where the king and queen were living; their guards were massacred; and the king was deposed. In order to reassure those who were fighting for the Revolution that Paris would not turn against them, the French leaders in the beginning of September ordered a massacre of the royalists who had been imprisoned.

The armies of Austria and Prussia invaded France, but although they took Verdun, the allies did not trust each other, and they fell back before the defenders of France at Valmy, in the Argonne. In a short time the soil of France had been freed from invaders, and the French in their turn began to attack the Austrian Netherlands. They declared the Scheldt open to trade. That river had been closed by treaties in the interests of Holland since 1648, and its opening would be an injury to Dutch rights, which had been recognised by France and by Britain in recent treaties. Three days later the French Assembly declared that it would aid any people that desired freedom, by helping to overthrow its existing government. The British Government protested, but in vain.

WAR WITH BRITAIN AND HOLLAND.—In January 1793 Louis XVI of France was beheaded, and in the

[1] So called from their leaders, who represented the country of the Gironde—the estuary of the Garonne and Dordogne, near Bordeaux.

following month France declared war against Britain and Holland. Britain (and notably Pitt) had not desired to interfere with the affairs of France—had rather hoped for peace in order to effect reforms in a quieter way at home ; but when France began to interfere with the rights of our allies and to disregard her international obligations, war could not easily be avoided.

DISQUIET AT HOME.—The French had for some time been encouraging reform or "radical" societies in England, which kept in touch with the leaders in Paris. Dread that radical measures would encourage excesses like those of the Paris mob made Pitt and most Englishmen unwilling to embark on a liberal policy, and a period of caution and reaction set in.

In 1793 an Act was passed against traitorous correspondence with France, and many persons both in England and in Scotland were prosecuted for spreading sedition.

FRENCH VICTORIES.—In the early part of 1793 the French lost ground on their northern frontier ; but in June the Girondists were overthrown, and power fell into the hands of a more extreme party, which entrusted the direction of the war to a first-rate administrator, Lazare Carnot, who won the title "Organiser of Victories."

Before the end of the year the French national armies organised by Carnot were victorious both in the north under Jourdan and on the Rhine under Hoche. Toulon, where the royalists were in revolt, was seized by the British fleet in August, but had to be abandoned in December, after a commanding position had been seized by a young French officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. In December also a British expedition, which had been sent to assist a royalist movement in La Vendée (south of the mouth of the Loire), was forced to return without getting into touch with the Vendéans.

In 1794 the French successes continued because of the jealousies of the allies. Only at sea were the French

defeated. (*a*) Corsica was taken by the British, and used as a naval base in the Mediterranean. (*b*) After a few days' manœuvring, Earl Howe won a great battle off Ushant on "the glorious First of June," capturing six French ships, and sinking another.

BREAK-UP OF THE FIRST COALITION AGAINST FRANCE.—In 1795 the Dutch fleet was seized by the French, and Holland was made into a subordinate republic—the "Batavian Republic." Russia, Austria, and Prussia divided between them what was left of Poland; and Prussia was too busy pacifying and organising her new territory to be able to take further part in the war with France. In April Prussia made peace, and gave up to France her outlying territories west of the Rhine. In July Spain also deserted her allies, and came to terms with the revolutionists.

Within France itself an end was put in this year to the struggles in which the various revolutionary groups had destroyed each other; and a more stable government was established, in which there were five "Directors" and two legislative assemblies. The events of the war were not very striking, but the subordination of Holland to the French gave Britain the opportunity to seize the Dutch colonies, such as Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope.

DISTRESS AT HOME.—There was a great scarcity of corn in England in the winter of 1795-6, and there was much distress among the poor. The export of grain was prohibited, and flour was not allowed to be used for making anything but bread, and even then it had to be mixed with maize and potato meal. In October the king was received in London with cries for peace, bread, and the dismissal of Pitt. Agitators were so active in fanning the spirit of discontent against the Government that two more Acts were passed, giving the authorities power to punish seditious speeches as treason, and to prevent any political meetings of which they disapproved.

52. THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, 1796-1807

THREATENED INVASION OF ENGLAND.—Early in 1797 the French made feeble attempts to invade Ireland and Wales, and it was feared that a more formidable invasion of England was intended. There was a run on the banks in February, and even the Bank of England was in danger, till cash payments were suspended, and it was agreed by commercial men that Bank of England notes should be accepted as legal tender. The danger of invasion had already been reduced by a great victory at sea. In February Sir John Jervis with fifteen ships defeated the Spaniards with twenty-seven off Cape St Vincent (south-west of Portugal).

MUTINY IN THE NAVY.—In the previous year General Bonaparte had taken command of the French Army in Italy, where he met with constant and rapid success. After taking Mantua, Bonaparte moved northwards towards Vienna ; and Austria had to agree to preliminaries of peace. At this critical moment a mutiny broke out among the seamen of the British Navy, who were badly paid, ill-fed, and often very harshly treated. The movement began at Spithead, and it was ended by the redress of grievances. A more dangerous outbreak then occurred at the Nore. For a time Admiral Duncan was left with only two ships to watch the Dutch fleet which lay in the Texel completing its preparations and awaiting a favourable wind. The authorities refused to treat with the mutineers, and gradually the men returned to their duty. The leader, Richard Parker, and eighteen others were executed.

BRITAIN MISTRESS OF THE SEAS.—By the middle of June 1797 the crisis was over, and when the Dutch at last left the Texel in October they were crushed by

Duncan off Camperdown, and nine of their ships were captured.

In October Austria surrendered the Netherlands and some of its possessions in the north of Italy, and was allowed in return to annex Venice and the north-east coast of the Adriatic. Britain had no ally in Europe, but it was at least supreme at sea; and, despite the war, its trade and industries flourished more and more.

BATTLE OF THE NILE.—In 1798 Bonaparte, finding that it was impossible (for the time at least) to invade Britain, determined to strike at her power in the East.[1] In July he conquered Lower Egypt, but on 1st August his fleet was completely destroyed by Nelson in Aboukir Bay, at the mouth of the Nile. Bonaparte, cut off from the sea, advanced by Suez to Palestine.

BONAPARTE IN THE EAST.—In 1799 he reached Acre, which was defended not only by the Turks but by Sir Sidney Smith and a body of British sailors. Bonaparte was unable to take the place, and dared not move on, leaving it held by the enemy in his rear. He returned to Egypt, where he learned that Austria and Russia had been encouraged by the Battle of the Nile to join Britain in a second coalition to oppose the French, and that they had reconquered the north of Italy. The French needed the leadership of Bonaparte, and he stole away from his army in Egypt to put himself at the head of the government at Paris. He arrived in October 1799, overthrew the Directors in November, and in December assumed the government as First Consul for ten years.

BREAK-UP OF THE SECOND COALITION.—In June 1800 Bonaparte completely defeated the Austrians at Marengo, in North Italy, and in December Moreau defeated them at Hohenlinden, in Bavaria. Austria was unable to continue the war, and had to make peace in February 1801—the Peace of Lunéville. By this time

[1] For the effect of French designs in India, see p. 286.

the French had created four subordinate republics—the Batavian (Holland), the Helvetian (Switzerland), the Cisalpine (North Italy), and the Ligurian (Genoa).

HOME AFFAIRS: IRISH REBELLION.—Huge sums were being borrowed by the British Government, and taxation was heavy: an income tax of two shillings in the pound (on incomes over £200) was imposed in 1799. The harvest was a complete failure, and there was great scarcity and distress, which became worse than ever in 1800. Further, in 1801 Pitt ceased to be Prime Minister owing to the opposition of the king to his Irish policy.

The influence of the French Revolution had been felt in Ireland as in other countries. In 1791 the "United Irishmen" began operations as a nationalist society seeking to unite the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland against English domination.

France sent help more than once, but not at the right time. In 1798 risings occurred in various quarters, and both the rebels and the authorities acted with savage barbarity. The rebels were finally defeated at Vinegar Hill, and Wexford, the stronghold of the Catholics, had to surrender.

UNION WITH IRELAND.—The bitterness and ill-feeling which prevailed made it unwise to leave the Catholics of Ireland at the mercy of the independent Protestant Parliament,[1] and it was out of the question at that time to allow a Catholic government to be formed. It seemed the wisest policy to give equal rights to the Catholics, and to place Ireland under a single united Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.[2] Pitt's Government at once took steps to carry out these measures; and, though they began with the Union, it was understood by the Catholics that emancipation would follow.

[1] In 1793 the Irish Catholics had been allowed to vote at elections, but not to sit in Parliament.

[2] Compare the Canadian settlement of 1838-40 (p. 317).

In the summer of 1800 the measure was carried in both Parliaments, and the Union came into force on the first day of the new century. The population of Ireland, after increasing from 4,500,000 in 1801 to over 8,000,000 in 1841, has fallen back to under 4,500,000. The decline has been due to economic causes mainly, but political discontent accounts for the fact that most of those who left the country went to the United States rather than to a British colony.

Ireland was given one hundred members in the House of Commons, and thirty-two in the House of Lords; other Irish peers were made eligible for the House of Commons. The Protestant Episcopal Church was declared the Established Church of Ireland, and united with the Established Church of England. Trading rights were granted on the footing proposed by Pitt in 1785.

Pitt next wished to free the Catholics from all disabilities; but the king declared that his conscience would not allow him to consent to such a measure—that it would be breaking his coronation oath. As the king was obstinate, and it was feared that worry would cause him to become insane again—as he had been for a few months in 1788-9—Pitt could do nothing but resign office, since he was unable to carry out the policy to which he was virtually pledged (March 1801).

Sea Power and Trade.—In December 1800 the Czar secured the formation of a new "Armed Neutrality of the North"—Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia uniting with Russia, as in 1780, to oppose the restrictions imposed by Britain on trade in neutral ships. In January 1801 the Czar went further, and offered to make an alliance with France. In 1801 Nelson attempted to weaken the forces of the "Armed Neutrality" by attacking the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. He won "the Battle of the Baltic," but the "Neutrality" had already lost its chief support: the Czar Paul had been murdered a few

days before, and his successor, Alexander I, was ready to make terms.

In this year also the French had to abandon Egypt; but, on the other hand, Bonaparte took over Louisiana from Spain.[1] He forced the rulers of Portugal and Naples to exclude British goods and shipping.

NINETEEN MONTHS OF PEACE.—All parties, however, were now anxious for a period of peace. A preliminary treaty was signed in October 1801; but, although fighting ceased, many difficulties arose before the final treaty was concluded in March 1802. Britain's chief gains by the Peace of Amiens were the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad,[2] which had belonged to the Dutch and to the Spanish respectively. Britain was to give up Malta [3] under certain conditions; the failure to surrender Malta was one of the causes which soon brought about a renewal of the war.

The peace was intended by British statesmen as a test of the character of Bonaparte's rule. But any hope of a long period of peace and security was almost immediately disappointed by the fact that Bonaparte continued to extend his power in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. French spies were very active in Ireland and in British ports: a Report in the First Consul's official newspaper in January 1803 discussed the means of reconquering Egypt; and he was rightly believed to be plotting against the British in India. It was impossible to preserve peace for long under such conditions, and in May 1803 war was again declared.

NAPOLEON'S THREATENED INVASION OF BRITAIN.—On the first anniversary of the declaration of war (18th

[1] Louisiana was sold to the United States in 1803.

[2] Now among the greatest sources of our supplies of tea and cocoa respectively.

[3] Malta had been granted in 1530 by the Emperor Charles V to the Knights of the Order of St John. From them it was taken by Bonaparte on his way to Egypt in 1798. It was then blockaded by the British, to whom it surrendered in September 1800.

May 1804) Bonaparte strengthened his position by taking the title of Emperor—from that time he is known as Napoleon ; and on the same day the British Government was strengthened by Pitt's return to lead the House of Commons as Prime Minister.

While Pitt was negotiating alliances with Russia and Austria, Napoleon was planning and preparing an expedition for the invasion of Britain. The invasion was originally designed to take place in August 1804, but the admiral at Toulon died at the critical moment, and no attempt was made to bring the Mediterranean fleet round to the Channel.

In 1805 the French fleet at Toulon and a Spanish fleet at Cadiz united under Admiral Villeneuve, and made a dash to the West Indies, whither they were followed by Nelson. They then hastened back to the English Channel in order to unite with another Spanish fleet blockaded at Ferrol and a French fleet blockaded at Brest, and thus by combining the fleets to provide a safe passage for the invading army encamped at Boulogne. But off Cape Finisterre they met a British fleet under Sir Robert Calder. Villeneuve, though he had twenty ships to fifteen, had the worse of a slight and indecisive encounter. The French admiral gave up hope, and, instead of making for Brest, he retired tamely to Cadiz—the course Napoleon had recommended him to take, if defeated.

Napoleon now saw that there was no hope of being able to invade England, and that his army would be best employed in crushing the Austrians, who were rapidly preparing for war. He hastened into Germany, and directed Villeneuve to bring his fleet round into the Adriatic in order to co-operate with him.

NELSON AND TRAFALGAR.—In September Nelson sailed for Cadiz, determined to bring on a decisive action and shatter the naval strength of Napoleon. This he succeeded in doing off Cape Trafalgar, between Cadiz and

Gibraltar; but Nelson himself was mortally wounded, and died, like Wolfe, in the hour of victory. He might well say to Captain Hardy, in the spirit of the famous signal to the fleet, "Thank God, I have done my duty." Eighteen ships surrendered, and an end was put to any plan of invading England for years to come.

NAPOLEON STILL SUPREME ON THE CONTINENT.—Before the end of 1805 Napoleon triumphantly closed his war with Austria by the victory of Austerlitz.[1] Austria had to give up the Adriatic coast to Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy, and had also to cede territory to Napoleon's South German allies, Bavaria and Würtemberg, whose rulers were given the title of King. Russia abandoned the war; and Prussia, which had intended to join the allies if conditions had been more favourable, congratulated Napoleon, and agreed to occupy Hanover. Napoleon was as supreme on the Continent as Britain was at sea; and once again Britain stood alone.

Napoleon made his brother Joseph King of Naples; another brother, Louis, was made King of Holland; the western states of Germany were federated under Napoleon's protection — "the Confederation of the Rhine." The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved: its Emperor Francis II relinquished that title, and became instead Francis I, Emperor of Austria.

DEATH OF PITT.—Pitt's scheme of alliances had collapsed, and his health had also broken down: in January he died at Putney. He had persevered in the face of many discouragements in opposing the insatiable ambition of Napoleon, and in spite of the great work of Nelson, his last days were overclouded by Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz. Yet he strove to encourage others: "England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example."

On Pitt's death, the king at last consented to admit

[1] The end of the third coalition against Napoleon.

the Radical, Charles James Fox, to office as Foreign Secretary, the Whig, Lord Grenville, being head of the ministry as First Lord of the Treasury. The Government also included Charles Grey, the Reform leader, and the Tory, Henry Addington, Lord Sidmouth: it was known as "the Ministry of All the Talents." Fox hoped to find a secure basis for a peace, but, before his death in September, he was convinced by Napoleon's conduct that this was impossible.

BRITISH TRADE IN SLAVES ABOLISHED.—A General Election gave Grenville a considerable majority, which he used in 1807 to secure the abolition of the slave trade. The trade in negro slaves from West Africa to work on the sugar plantations of the West Indies and the tobacco and cotton plantations of the southern states of America had increased steadily in the eighteenth century until the number taken every year exceeded 100,000. But the evangelical party in the Church, who led a humanitarian movement towards the end of the eighteenth century, for a time succeeded in gaining a great influence over the Government; and Britain not only stopped the trade herself, but tried to induce other powers to abandon it also.

Grenville wished to remove some of the disabilities imposed upon Roman Catholics on account of their religion—for example, inability to hold high commissions in the Army and Navy; but the king refused to consider any such proposal, and the ministry resigned.

NAPOLEON'S FURTHER SUCCESSES.—In October 1806 Napoleon crushed Prussia at the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, and occupied Berlin. In February 1807 Napoleon fought a desperate drawn battle with the Russians at Eylau in East Prussia, and in June he defeated them at Friedland. Napoleon then offered terms of peace to the Czar, and Alexander was won over at a private interview on a raft in the Niemen. The

Treaty of Tilsit [1] reduced Prussia to a second-rate power, and made its gains in the second and third partitions of Poland into a new state, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the King of Saxony. Another new state was the Kingdom of Westphalia, formed for Napoleon's brother Jerome, in the valleys of the Ems, Oder, and Weser. Napoleon was now at the height of his greatness; but he had still more ambitious plans for the future.

53. THE FALL OF NAPOLEON, 1807-15

NAPOLEON AND BRITISH TRADE.—Invasion having proved impossible, thanks to Nelson and the British Navy, Napoleon sought to starve Britain by excluding her trade from all continental countries. With this object in view he issued two decrees—the Berlin Decree, November 1806; and the Milan Decree, December 1807. Russia agreed to join him in forcing the lesser powers to join in this "Continental System" of exclusion. Britain replied by "Orders in Council" forbidding neutral ships to trade with French ports on penalty of seizure. With her command of the sea Britain was better able to carry out this policy than Napoleon. Smuggling to European countries was actively carried on by British ships, and in the first ten years of the nineteenth century the annual exports from Britain almost doubled in value.

Britain also forestalled Napoleon in forcing the Danes to surrender their fleet by bombarding Copenhagen in September 1807. Napoleon was disappointed, but he hastened to despatch an army to conquer Portugal, and thus prevent the landing of British goods in any port from the Baltic to the Adriatic.

FRENCH INVASION OF SPAIN.—In 1808 Napoleon intervened in the quarrels between the King of Spain and his son, set both of them aside, and assigned the

[1] The end of the fourth coalition against Napoleon.

crown of Spain to his own brother Joseph, who was succeeded as King of Naples by General Murat. But the matter was not to be so easily settled. There were risings of the Spanish people in many parts of the country, and on the day of Joseph's entry into Madrid, a French army of 18,000 men under General Dupont surrendered tamely to a larger Spanish army in the south of Spain. A few days later a British force landed in Portugal. It defeated the French at Vimiero; and an arrangement was then made ("the Convention of Cintra") by which the French army was to abandon Portugal and to be conveyed back to France.

Napoleon himself concluded a new agreement with the Czar, allowing Russia to make conquests in Finland and in the north of Turkey, in what later became Rumania. He then hastened to Spain, and fought his way to Madrid. His victories deprived the British general, Sir John Moore, who had reached Salamanca, of the hope of help from a Spanish army; and he had to retreat to the coast.

WELLESLEY IN THE PENINSULA.—Moore's raid had dislocated Napoleon's plans, and in January 1809 he left the pursuit of the British to one of his best commanders, Nicolas Soult, while he himself returned to Paris to prepare for a threatening war with Austria. Before embarking at Corunna, Moore's army turned and defeated Soult, Moore himself being mortally wounded.

In April 1809 Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon as commander-in-chief of the British forces. He quickly drove the French out of Portugal, won the battle of Talavera after two days' hard fighting at the end of July, and then, in view of the complete success of the French against the Spaniards, retired to prepare for a defensive campaign near Lisbon. His three lines of fortifications across the Lisbon peninsula were of remark-

able strength; they are known as "the lines of Torres Vedras."

THE PEACE OF VIENNA.—Meanwhile Napoleon had again beaten the Austrians; for, though in May he received a check on the Danube near Vienna, he won a fairly decisive victory in July at Wagram, a little farther north; and in October the Peace of Vienna was concluded, by which Austria had to yield territory to France, Russia, Bavaria, and the Duchy of Warsaw.[1]

THE REGENCY.—In 1810 George III lapsed into permanent insanity, and the Prince of Wales acted as Regent until the end of the reign. Thackeray, who can show the beauty and lovableness of virtue as skilfully as he reveals the ugliness and hatefulness of vice, says at the end of his lectures on *The Four Georges*: "The heart of Britain still beats kindly for George III, not because he was wise and just, but because he was pure in life, honest in intent, and because according to his lights he worshipped Heaven."

HARDSHIPS OF THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.—In April 1810 Napoleon married Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, after divorcing his first wife, Josephine Beauharnais. Russia was chafing under the "Continental System"; and smuggling was so prevalent in other parts that Napoleon took directly under his own government (*a*) Holland (where his brother Louis was deposed); (*b*) a strip of the North Sea coast of Germany up to the Danish frontier; and (*c*) Valais in Switzerland.

The more rigidly the Decrees were enforced, the greater were the hardships suffered by the people who were excluded from trade with Britain and her colonies; and thus feeling against Napoleon and his "System" grew stronger and stronger. The Czar had several grievances against Napoleon, whose policy was wholly selfish. Both saw that war was inevitable, and in 1811

[1] Break-up of the fifth coalition against Napoleon.

both made their preparations. Russia was able to make peace with Turkey; but Napoleon had his war with the Spanish patriots and with Britain still on his hands when the Russian conflict began.

WELLINGTON'S SUCCESSES. — In September 1810, before retiring towards Lisbon, Wellington inflicted a severe blow on the French at the battle of Busaco. The French were then drawn away from their base, and left in a barren country to face the impregnable "lines of Torres Vedras," which had been prepared during the previous twelve months. In 1811, the last year in which Napoleon could employ the whole of his forces in Spain, the French generals failed to seize their opportunity; and the only battles—Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera—were won by the British (both in May).

Sixty thousand French troops had to be withdrawn from Spain for the Russian expedition of 1812, and Wellington took immediate advantage of the weakening of the enemy to capture the great frontier forts of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. At Salamanca in July he won his greatest victory so far, and in August he occupied Madrid. But he was not yet strong enough to establish himself so far from his base, and for the winter he retired to Ciudad Rodrigo.

NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF RUSSIA.—Napoleon crossed the Russian frontier in June 1812, with a Prussian army in the north and an Austrian army in the south pretending to co-operate with him but in reality doing nothing to help him. The whole of the invading forces numbered over 600,000 men. In September, after a battle at Borodino in which 250,000 men were engaged and over 60,000 killed and wounded, the French entered Moscow. For about a week fires raged through the city, and destroyed by far the greater part of it. The Russians had abandoned the buildings, and they showed no sign of coming to terms with Napoleon.

It became impossible to hold on any longer, and in October the French began to retrace their steps. At the crossing of the Beresina at the end of November, the Russians made the most deadly of several attacks on "the Grand Army," and reduced it to about 90,000 men. The cold wrought as much havoc as the enemy; but though he had lost five-sixths of his experienced veteran troops, nearly half a million men, Napoleon set himself at once to supply their places with recruits from his great empire.

NAPOLEON'S DEFEAT AT LEIPZIG.—In the campaign of 1813 the Prussians were from the first hostile to Napoleon; and Austria, after vainly attempting to arrange terms of peace, also joined the allies in August. The war came to be regarded as "the War of Liberation" for the German people, who had been held down by the Emperor of the French. Napoleon won his last great victory at Dresden at the end of August, but in October he was crushed by the united forces of the allies in "the Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig, in which half a million men took part, and 100,000 were killed or wounded. Napoleon had to fall back into France, and many of the countries which had been conquered by the French declared against him.

WELLINGTON CLEARS SPAIN.—At Vittoria, in June 1813, when 140,000 men were engaged, Wellington won the greatest victory of "the Peninsular War." The French had to abandon the whole of Spain south of the Ebro, in order to defend the south of France itself against an invasion. In spite of all their efforts, Wellington fought his way through the Pyrenees, and crossed into France in October. As news arrived of Napoleon's failure to maintain his position against the allies farther north, Bordeaux declared for the old Bourbon monarchy, and Toulouse also welcomed the invaders when they entered it after winning a fierce battle in April 1814.

ABDICATION AND BANISHMENT OF NAPOLEON.—Early in 1814 the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians advanced towards Paris, and closed in on Napoleon. They occupied Paris in March, and Napoleon abdicated in April. The Senate called to the throne a younger brother of the executed Louis XVI, who took the title of Louis XVIII. The powers then assigned to Napoleon the island of Elba, off the coast of Italy, and arranged the boundaries of the French kingdom much as they were before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1792. For general arrangements of territory throughout Europe it was agreed that a congress should be held at Vienna.

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.—From 1812 to 1814 Britain was at war also with the United States, which had grievances relating not only to the restriction of neutral trade by the Orders in Council, but also to the searching of American ships for deserters from the British Navy. The Americans made several attempts to invade Canada, but these met with little success; the French Canadians of Quebec won perhaps the greatest glory of the war on land by their victory of Chateauguay.

By sea there were no general engagements, but a number of fights between single ships: the Americans were frequently successful, but the British cherish especially the memory of the fight between H.M.S. *Shannon* and the United States frigate *Chesapeake* off Boston. The *Chesapeake* surrendered after ten minutes' cannonade and four minutes' hand-to-hand fighting, during which it lost 146 men out of a crew of 386.

In revenge for the burning of the town of York (now Toronto) and Newark (Niagara) by the Americans, the British in August burned the public buildings of the American capital, Washington; but an expedition against New Orleans was a complete failure. Before that took place, peace had been signed at Ghent on 24th December 1814.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.—While the map of Europe was being rearranged at Vienna, Napoleon suddenly returned from Elba to France, landing near Cannes on 1st March 1815. In three weeks more he was back in the Tuileries Palace in Paris, and two months later he set out to lead his army against the forces of the allies, who were encamped in Belgium, under Wellington at Brussels and under Blücher at Namur.

On Friday 16th June, Marshal Ney fought an indecisive engagement with the British at Quatre Bras, while Napoleon himself defeated the Prussians at Ligny. The Prussians, 80,000 in number, instead of retreating to Namur, fell back, as had been arranged, towards Brussels to join forces with Wellington. Napoleon did not expect this, and he sent a corps of 35,000 away under Grouchy in the direction of Namur. On Sunday, 18th June, the decisive battle began at Waterloo, Napoleon having 72,000 men and Wellington less than 68,000, of whom 24,000 were British, and most of the others Hanoverians or Netherlanders. The French attacked first with great columns of infantry, then with brigades of cavalry. As evening came on, Wellington looked for the arrival of Blücher, and not in vain. The advance of the Prussians on the right flank of the French so distracted Napoleon that he failed to follow up immediately a success which was gained soon after 6 P.M. in capturing the farm of La Haye Sainte, the centre of the British position. It was after 7 P.M. when the last great charge was made to the left of La Haye Sainte by the French Imperial Guard. But by this time the British line had been rearranged, and again the attack was repulsed. Blücher's troops came up in full force, and the French army was soon in headlong flight pursued by vengeful Prussians. The French lost half their number—36,000; Wellington a fifth of his—13,000; and the Prussians less than a tenth—7000.

Napoleon fled to Paris, and abdicated the next day. He then escaped to the Bay of Biscay coast, at Rochefort, south of La Rochelle, where he found British vessels on the alert. He determined to surrender voluntarily, and went on board H.M.S. *Bellerophon* eight days after the triumphal entry of the allies into Paris. So ended the brief campaign and Napoleon's last adventure in Europe, which is known as "the Hundred Days." The fallen Emperor was banished by the four victorious powers to the little British island of St Helena in the South Atlantic, where he died in 1821.

THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE.—At the Congress at Vienna, Britain exerted herself to secure the abolition of the slave trade by the powers which had colonies in America. Britain followed this up by bombarding Algiers in 1816, to force the pirates of that place to abandon the practice of making slaves of their Christian captives. Of the important territories which she had occupied during the war, Britain retained the Cape of Good Hope and Dutch Guiana, for which she paid compensation in money; Malta and a protectorate over the Ionian Islands; Heligoland; Mauritius; St Lucia, and Tobago. (Ceylon and Trinidad had already become British by the Peace of Amiens in 1802.)

France was cut down to the territory she had held in 1790. Holland and Belgium were united under the Prince of Orange; Norway was put under the King of Sweden; and Finland and most of Poland under the Czar of Russia.[1] The national sympathies of people in small states were sacrificed, in order to reward the successful opponents of Napoleon with some addition to their territory.

Prussia obtained part of Poland, part of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and territory on the left bank of the Rhine. As Prussia strengthened herself in the heart of Germany, Austria moved away from Germany: she

[1] All these arrangements have now been reversed.

lost the southern Netherlands and took compensation in northern Italy and on the shores of the Adriatic. The King of Sardinia and Savoy, and the King of Naples or "the two Sicilies"—both representing the old dynasties—were the most powerful of Italian rulers, though all of them were overshadowed by the power of Austria in Venice and Lombardy.

Germany, like Italy, was left divided into a number of independent states — eight in Italy, thirty-eight in Germany. A loose form of German confederation was established.

VII. THE GROWTH OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY

54. REFORMS OVERDUE, 1812-30

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.—Pitt's War had left Great Britain the foremost commercial and colonial power in the world. Before the end of the Napoleonic war, Britain had become a great manufacturing country—indeed, the one great manufacturing country in the world.

(1) First came the *use of coal for smelting iron* (1750-1760); furnaces were erected near the great coalfields. Iron became cheap, and was used for making bridges, etc. Gas-lighting was a later discovery arising from the increased use of coal; it began early in the nineteenth century.[1]

(2) *Canals* were made (from 1761), and the easy transport by water was much cheaper than the old journeys over bad roads. The first of the canals were in the Manchester district; they were planned by Francis Egerton, Duke of Bridgewater, and executed by the engineer James Brindley. Brindley was responsible for

[1] See p. 378.

350 miles of waterway, connecting central England both with the Humber and with the Mersey. Roads also were being improved in some places.[1]

(3) *Machinery* was invented by James Hargreaves, Richard Arkwright, and Samuel Crompton, *for spinning* cotton and wool into threads (1764-85), a process very much faster and cheaper than that of the old spinning-wheels which had been worked by women and children in cottages throughout the country.

(4) At the end of the century the *weaving* of the threads into cloth began to be done by a power-loom, invented by Edmund Cartwright about 1784, instead of by the old hand-loom.

(5) These *machines* began to be set up in *factories*: round the factories grew up *towns* occupied by the workers; small farmers and cottagers lost their old additional earnings from spinning and weaving at home. The British Empire overseas provided materials for these new manufactures and markets for the manufactured goods: for example, cotton is brought to Lancashire from India, and wool to Yorkshire from Australia.

(6) At first mills were erected on the banks of streams whose water could be used to work the mill; but from 1790 *steam-power* began to be used instead of water-power; and from the beginning of the nineteenth century, factories and manufacturing towns tended to be established rather where coal, than where water, could be easily obtained. The steam-engine was patented by James Watt in 1769: steam-power was applied to engines of various sorts, pumps and hammers, before it was much used in mills and long before it was applied to locomotion. The *Comet* steamer first plied on the Clyde in 1812, and a few years later George Stephenson made successful experiments with locomotive engines and steam railways for collieries in the Newcastle and Durham districts.

[1] See p. 279.

(7) The rise of manufactures and of large town populations caused an increased demand for corn and other food supplies. Full advantage could be taken of the improvements introduced only where farming was conducted on a large scale. A Board of Agriculture was established in 1793, and experiments were made which led to discoveries as to the best treatment of the soil and rotation of crops. As in the sixteenth century, there was a great movement for making *large farms* by *enclosing* open fields and common lands, and the yeomen of former days tended to become either country gentlemen or tenant-farmers, while large numbers of cottagers were forced to become labourers working for small wages. As early as 1770, this tendency inspired the writing of Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. By the end of the century, Britain was just ceasing to be able to grow enough corn for the needs of her people, and had to import it from abroad.

Combinations of workmen had been formed in various trades during the eighteenth century to try to secure the enforcement of the Elizabethan laws for the fixing of wages by Justices of the Peace and for limiting the employment of apprentices (cheap labour). As the Industrial Revolution altered the conditions of work and employees tended to become concentrated in factories, combination became easier and more frequent. In 1799 and 1800 Acts of Parliament were passed in the interests of employers to make such trade unions illegal.

Conditions in England: Poor Law.—The great changes in the occupations of the people caused much distress. The Poor Law was altered so that low wages might be supplemented from the rates, and it would not be necessary to send able-bodied unemployed to the workhouse. This was an unfair burden on those farmers who managed to cultivate their own land without help, and had then to pay rates to maintain the underpaid employees of their neighbours.

CHILD LABOUR.—While countrymen suffered from the loss of their plot of land and grazing rights, from the destruction of cottage industries, from low wages and a bad system of poor relief, the townsfolk were no more fortunate. To work the machinery of the new factories, pauper children were taken over from parish authorities and forced to toil for fifteen hours a day in very unhealthy conditions. They had no education and no chance to grow up strong: it was only the spread of epidemics from among them that forced Parliament in 1802 to pass an Act for regulating child labour in cotton-spinning factories. If it was the golden age of great manufacturers, it was an iron age for the employees at their mercy.

UNREST AMONG WORKERS.—Although British exports increased by £24,000,000 between 1800 and 1815, the increasing use of machinery caused many people to lose their employment. In 1811 and 1812 there were serious riots in many parts of the country, the chief object being to destroy the new machinery, especially frames used for knitting stockings. For such offences sixteen people were executed in 1812.

NEWSPAPERS were still an expensive luxury, but they had begun to multiply even before the war with France: the greatest of all, the *Times*, was founded in 1788, began to be printed by steam in 1814, and had in 1816 a circulation of 8000: its price was sevenpence. In 1816 a much more popular paper, William Cobbett's weekly *Political Register*, began to be sold for twopence; it had the greatest influence in fostering a movement for more democratic government—for the reform of Parliament.

EDUCATION AND CRIME.—The State did nothing to help education. Scarcely one child in four had the benefit of any education at all in 1815. As one would expect among a population which was poor, ignorant, and crowded together in large centres, crime increased to an alarming extent. What was saved on the training of the

young was spent much less usefully on the punishment of those who went wrong. The harshest measures were taken to repress crime; there was little or no attempt to improve the criminal. Prisons were in a disgraceful condition: women were whipped in public till 1817, and in private till 1819; even after that men were whipped at the rate of 1000 a year. In 1819 there were still over two hundred offences for which death might be inflicted. These included (*a*) stealing anything from a bleaching-ground; (*b*) cutting down a young tree; (*c*) (in the case of a soldier or a sailor), begging without a permit. Very few people were allowed by law to hunt game, but the severe Game Laws were defied by thousands of persons who would not have admitted that poaching was in any way wrong.

Corn Laws.—1812 was a year of scarcity, but in 1813 there was a good harvest, and the price of wheat fell from 130 shillings, to 75 shillings per quarter. Parliament was induced to make a great effort to control the price by regulating the supply. "Corn Laws" were not a novelty: in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they had appeared in two forms—a bounty on the export of home-grown corn and a duty on the import of foreign corn. The object was not only to protect the British farmer against competition, but also to steady the price of corn, to prevent the farmer from suffering too severely when the price was falling, and the poor from being distressed by sudden and violent rises in price. In 1815 the normal price was expected and intended to remain high, so as to enable farmers to pay rents which had increased enormously during the war.

In the eighteenth century the price had generally been kept below 50 shillings. In 1815 it was enacted in the interests of British landowners and farmers—"the landed interest," which was all-powerful in Parliament till the Reform Act of 1832—that corn should not be imported

at all, unless the price was at least 67 shillings a quarter, and then only from British North America; not till the price reached 80 shillings was free importation of foreign corn allowed. This encouraged farmers to cultivate more land and prices were reasonably low in good seasons. But, except when the harvest was abundant, the home-grown supplies were no longer sufficient for the needs of the people of Britain, and this measure made matters much worse for "consumers" whenever there was a crop failure.

INDUSTRIAL DISTRESS.—The years which followed the end of the war were a period of great distress also for the industrial "producers" of Britain. (1) Prices in England, which had been high during the war, fell, and employers had to reduce wages, and dismiss some of their men. (2) On the downfall of "the Continental system" there was such a rush to supply European markets that they were glutted, and goods had to be sold at a considerable loss, if they were to be sold at all. (3) When the war was over, European countries had an opportunity to develop industries of their own instead of smuggling British goods at high prices: our foreign trade fell off by a fifth or a sixth. (4) As the boom of prosperity which had lasted since Britain became securely supreme at sea ended, money was less easily borrowed, and many who needed credit to carry on their business were ruined. (5) The introduction of machinery and the rise of the factory system deprived many hand-workers of their old employments. (6) Disbanded soldiers also added to the number of the unemployed. (7) Relief from war taxation was granted first of all to the more prosperous classes by the total repeal of the Income Tax, a very serious blunder, which made it necessary to raise revenue by heavy duties on the import of many necessaries or articles of general consumption.

ABSENCE OF HEALING MEASURES.—As a result of

all these troubles there were riots in many parts; and the Government was still so much afraid of revolution that it attempted rather to repress the mob than to redress their grievances.

Manchester was the scene of the most memorable of the demonstrations of the people. (*a*) In 1817 a large meeting was arranged to carry a petition to the Prince Regent: some of the organisers were arrested, but about three hundred of those who had attended set out for London carrying blankets with them to sleep in by the way. Very few of them reached the boundary of Lancashire, and "the March of the Blanketeers" was a complete failure. (*b*) Much more serious was the dispersing of a huge assembly at St Peter's Fields, Manchester, in August 1819, when the mob were charged by cavalry, and five or six were crushed to death. This was called by the Radicals "the Massacre of Peterloo."

The climax of repression was reached immediately after this, by the passing of "the Six Acts." These Acts attempted to check the spreading of "sedition" by controlling public meetings, the press, and the possession of arms.

These first five years of peace have been called "the most miserable epoch in modern English history."

GEORGE IV.—In January 1820 George IV, who had acted as regent for his father during the last ten years, became King. He did not interest himself much in politics at this time, but in 1821 and 1822 he won considerable popularity in Ireland and Scotland by paying them the first royal visit for very many years. Little that is favourable can be said of George IV. He reigned till 1830, when he was succeeded by his brother, William IV.

REFORMS.—The Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century had sought to exclude foreign countries (except the country producing the article to be imported) from any share in the British carrying trade. At the end of

the great war in 1815 several countries retaliated by imposing extra duties on British shipping. In 1825 an Act permitted the Government to make "Reciprocity Treaties," providing for the concession of equal privileges on either side to British and to foreign shipping. British trade was further stimulated by a large reduction in the duties on imports both of raw materials and of manufactures, such as iron and wool, cotton goods, and spun silk.

As Home Secretary (1822-7), Sir Robert Peel reduced enormously the number of capital offences, and improved the condition of prisons. The law had been so severe that juries would not convict, and death sentences were very frequently commuted. In 1829, when Peel again held this office, he reformed the police of London, establishing "bobbies" or "peelers" in place of the old and inefficient "watchmen."

In January 1828 Wellington was placed at the head of a Tory Government. Even the Conservatives, however, found it necessary to carry two notable reforms—(1) the repeal of the Corporation Act of 1661 and the Test Act of 1673, which had excluded dissenters from office; and (2) the grant of Catholic emancipation, which had been delayed by George III's scruples in 1801 and 1807.

Parliament met in February 1829 and carried by large majorities an Act granting civil and political rights to Roman Catholics. In March the king attempted to form another ministry rather than consent to the bill; but, finding this impossible, he gave his assent in April. At the same time the qualification for a voter in the Irish counties was raised from a forty-shilling freehold to ten pounds, in order to take away the votes of a mass of ignorant people who were believed to be at the mercy of Catholic and disloyal agitators. The electorate was said by the Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell, to have been reduced in this way from 200,000 to 26,000 voters.

While the Government lost the confidence of many Tories by passing this measure, it did not succeed in putting an end to troubles in Ireland. O'Connell himself soon after plunged into a violent movement for the repeal of the Union—that is, for a separate parliament for Ireland.

55. THE WHIG REFORMS, 1830-7

Parliamentary Reform Needed. — Attempts to secure a better representation of the people in Parliament had been so effectively thwarted by the fear of revolution that pocket boroughs and rotten boroughs still returned their two members each, while the large new industrial towns were unrepresented.[1] There were about 200 Parliamentary boroughs in England, of which about 60 had a franchise open to householders or ratepayers, 60 confined it to the "Freemen" of the borough, and 40 to the Corporation, while in 40 it was "the owners and occupiers of certain ancient tenements" who alone had the right to vote. One house at Old Sarum, in Wiltshire, returned two members: Manchester and Birmingham, with over 100,000 inhabitants, had none; nor had Leeds or Sheffield, with over 50,000 each. Conditions in Scotland were even worse: Glasgow had a population of 200,000, and Edinburgh about 150,000, but each had only 33 electors. Cornwall had 40 members, nearly as many as the whole of Scotland. ("Influence" also secured for the relatives of noblemen, officers of state, and great lawyers, many sinecure appointments with huge salaries, very liberal pensions, high preferment in the Church, and distinguished rank in the Army.)

After a poor harvest in 1829 and a winter of great distress, it came to be believed that the first step towards any improvement in the condition of England

[1] See p. 232.

was to obtain a better representation of the people in Parliament.

THE GREAT REFORM ACT.—The General Election at the beginning of the reign of William IV in the autumn of 1830 brought into Parliament a strong party of reformers. Earl Grey was called upon to form a Whig Cabinet, and carry a Reform Act.

The more remarkable members of the ministry which carried the famous Reform Act in 1832 were Lord Palmerston,[1] Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, and Lord Brougham. Owing to powerful opposition, especially in the House of Lords, it was only after four attempts that the bill was passed. Lord Durham is believed to have had the greatest share in preparing the bill.

By the Act of 1832, 87 decayed or corrupt boroughs lost one or both of their members, giving 143 seats to be redistributed. English counties gained 62 seats, and 43 new boroughs returned 63 members. Of the other 18 members, 8 were given to Scotland, and 5 each to Ireland and Wales.

In the boroughs, householders paying a rent of £10 were to receive a vote; in the counties, to the old forty-shilling freeholders were added other farmers who did not own their land but paid a rent of £50. Similar changes were made in Scotland and in Ireland. The electorate for the United Kingdom was thus increased from less than a quarter of a million to about 700,000.

The Reform Act put political power in the hands of "the middle class" — manufacturers, shopkeepers, and farmers; it did not enfranchise "the working class." The passing of the Act, however, had great indirect effects. (1) It showed that the representation of the people in Parliament could be altered and broadened. (2) It showed that the House of Lords could not permanently obstruct a measure which was demanded by

[1] An Irish Peer, sitting in the House of Commons.

public opinion. Conflicts between the Houses would be more likely to occur in the future, as the Lords had lost much of their influence over elections to the Commons. They lost more by later Reform Acts, but this struggle itself showed that in a conflict between the Houses, the will of the people must in the long run prevail; the Lords could appeal from the Commons to the nation, but that was all. (3) It prepared the way for measures of economic and social reform affecting the bulk of the community.

Medical Science.—In 1831-2 there was an epidemic of cholera in England, which carried off 50,000 victims. It proved less deadly than the plagues of the Middle Age or of the East to-day, only because of the advance of medical and sanitary science and the precautions that were beginning to be taken. But it was not yet generally realised that disease might often be prevented or rendered less deadly by providing a good supply of pure water, and by having houses and streets kept in a less dirty condition.

The Established Church in Ireland.—Agitation in Ireland in 1831-2 took the form of a refusal to pay tithes for the clergy of the Established Church, and organised ill-usage of tithe-collectors and of those who paid tithes. Little more than a tenth of the population were adherents of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Six and a half million out of eight million were Roman Catholics, and for every four Episcopalians there were three Presbyterians. A measure of "coercion" was passed in 1833 to enable the authorities to put down the outrages by enforcing martial law in the "disturbed" districts.

Abolition of Slavery.—In 1833 a law was passed to abolish slavery in the British colonies. The negroes were not suddenly to become entirely free: for six years they were to be apprentices, still bound to work for their

masters. A sum of twenty million pounds was distributed among the slave-owners as compensation by the British Government. This sum was much less than the value of the slaves, but the measure nevertheless was creditable to the people of Britain and their representatives in Parliament. A further service to humanity was rendered by a British squadron which was kept at this time and for long after on the West Coast of Africa, and sometimes in the West Indies, to put down as far as possible the trade in slaves for Cuba and Brazil.

FACTORY ACT AND EDUCATION GRANT.—A Factory Act passed in 1833, besides prohibiting the employment of children under nine in textile factories, fixed a 48-hours' week for those under thirteen, and a 69-hours' week for those under eighteen. The problem of securing the enforcement of the law was met by the appointment of four inspectors under the Home Office; but this was not enough, and the regulations continued to be evaded. (See pages 269, 292-3.)

It was in 1833 also that the Government first voted money in aid of elementary education. £20,000 was granted, and its administration was entrusted to two societies which had been doing good work during the last quarter of a century—the British and Foreign School Society (Nonconformist, founded 1808), and the National Society (Church of England, founded 1811).

REFORM OF THE POOR LAW.—The session of 1834 was marked by the reform of the Poor Law. Out-door relief was no longer to be given to the able-bodied; and allowances ceased to be granted from the parish rates to supplement low wages. Groups of parishes were to unite into Unions for the joint control of a Workhouse; and the whole system was placed under the management of a central Poor Law Board of three Commissioners, who were to make uniform regulations as to the methods of relief throughout England. In the choice of the local

Boards of Guardians, ratepayers had several votes in proportion to the value of their property. The Guardians too often felt that their prime objects were to keep down the rates and to make the lot of the pauper as unattractive as possible, and their administration of the law was very unsympathetic. The hardships which arose in the working of the Act—the forcing of the aged into workhouses, and the separation of husband and wife—caused bitter feeling against the Government.

Reform of Local Government.—The great achievement of the Whig Government—now led by Lord Melbourne—in 1835 was the Municipal Corporations Act, which reformed local government in more than a hundred and eighty towns in England and Wales by making it more representative, just as the great Act of 1832 had reformed the central government of the State. Councillors were to be elected every three years by all ratepayers who had been resident for three years; and aldermen every six years by the councillors. The aldermen and councillors were to elect a mayor every year, and were to have charge of all such matters as police and lighting, to meet the cost of which they were empowered to impose rates. The meetings of the Councils were to be held in public. The Act differed from the Poor Law Act of 1834: (1) in giving to each ratepayer one vote only; and (2) in making the Councils responsible to the citizens, not to a central Board. [The Act did not apply to London. The Scots burghs were reformed in 1833, and the Irish in 1840.]

Further Reforms.—Three very useful measures were passed in 1836. (1) One of them provided for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. Besides furnishing useful information about the state of the country, this measure was a check on the crime of murder, for it required a doctor's certificate of the cause of death and a coroner's inquest in the case of sudden death. (2) Another Act allowed persons being tried for felony to

have the assistance of a lawyer to defend them. (3) The Budget reduced the stamp duty on newspapers from fourpence to one penny.

ROADS, RAILWAYS, AND STEAMSHIPS.—A network of canals had been constructed over England before the end of the eighteenth century. In the next thirty years great activity was shown in making good roads and bridges. Between 1811 and 1831 three new bridges were built across the Thames in London. Highways were greatly improved by the work of John Macadam, who was made Surveyor-General of Roads in 1827. Roads made on his principles—of small broken stones—are said to be "macadamised." Turnpike roads were unpopular because of the tolls exacted at various points for their upkeep: a little later (1843) many toll-gates were destroyed in South Wales by the "Rebecca" rioters, disguised in women's clothes.[1]

Public railways for the conveyance of goods or passengers began in 1825 with the line from Stockton to Darlington. In 1830, at the opening of the Liverpool-Manchester line, George Stephenson's engine, the *Rocket*, travelled at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour.

Steam power was also successfully applied to ocean navigation in the '30's. In 1838 the *Great Western* steamed from Bristol to New York in fifteen days—at a speed of over 8 knots: in 1840 regular steamship services were established between Britain and America. The development of the use of steam as a driving force created many new industries, and our economic system within Britain came to depend as much upon coal as upon corn.

TRADE UNIONS.—In the period of the great Reform movement in politics, there was also great activity in the industrial organisation of workmen. Between 1829

[1] "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, . . . let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them" (Genesis xxiv. 60).

and 1834 several great trade unions [1] were started—notably Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union—but employers were strongly opposed to the movement and combined to refuse to give work to members of the unions. Against such opposition the unions were unable to contend.

NEW UNIVERSITIES.—The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were still open only to members of the Church of England; and, when London University was opened for all, without religious test, in 1828, the Church planted beside it in London, King's College, opened in 1831. In 1835 the University of London was incorporated as an *examining* body, while *teaching* could be conducted by the existing colleges, University and King's, or by any other which might be recognised later. Durham University, opened in 1833, was also a Church of England institution.

LITERATURE.—The half-century after the French Revolution forms one of the greatest periods in English literature, which was enriched by the romantic poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Scott and Byron, Keats and Shelley; the historical romances of Scott and the domestic novels of Jane Austen; the essays of Lamb, De Quincey, and Hazlitt; and the histories of Carlyle and Macaulay. Besides newspapers, which became cheaper, more popular and more critical, there arose the great *Reviews*, of which the first were the "Edinburgh" (Whig) in 1802, the "Quarterly" (Tory: London) in 1809, and "Blackwood's Magazine" (Tory: Edinburgh) in 1816.[2] The "Reviews" were collections of essays on literary and

[1] Combinations of workmen for the purpose of regulating wages had been made legal by Acts of Parliament in 1824 and 1825.

[2] Edinburgh was a great literary and educational centre at this time. Both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, the great Whig Prime Ministers of the next generation, studied at the University of Edinburgh.

political subjects, many of which were themselves literature of a high quality or had some influence in the making of history.

SCOTLAND.—As communication became easier and more frequent, Scotland modelled itself more and more on England; and early in the nineteenth century the old manners, customs, and modes of speech passed out of use among the educated classes. The French Revolution attracted much sympathy in Scotland; and after the long conservative government of Pitt in England and of his friend, Lord Melville, in Scotland, the Whigs easily held the upper hand.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.—About this time, in general sympathy with the reaction in Europe against all that the Revolution had stood for, and in particular revulsion against liberal measures which affected the property of the Church (such as tithes), and against liberal thought which challenged the authority of the Church, there began in the Church of England "the Oxford Movement." The movement was headed at Oxford by John Henry Newman, vicar of St Mary's Church, John Keble, Professor of Poetry, and Edward Bouverie Pusey, Professor of Hebrew, all Fellows of Oriel College. As their great aim was to magnify the authority and dignity of the Church (as the representative of Christ throughout the centuries), it is not surprising that Newman and many of his followers ended by acknowledging the supremacy of the Catholic Church of Rome. But the movement also aroused a new sense of responsibility in the Anglican clergy, and made them more diligent and earnest.

56. REBUILDING OF THE EMPIRE, 1783-1837

NUCLEUS OF SECOND EMPIRE.—In 1782 the British Empire overseas had been greatly reduced by the recognition of the independence of the United States, but there remained a good foundation for building up a new empire. (1) The French Canadians on the banks of the St Lawrence were joined by the American loyalists, who settled on the Great Lakes and in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. (2) As convicts could no longer be sent to such colonies as Maryland in America, a plan was soon devised for making a convict settlement on the east coast of what was then known as New Holland, which had been explored by Captain James Cook in 1770 and annexed under the name of New South Wales. Besides these, Britain held (3) a number of very useful sugar islands in the West Indies, (4) Newfoundland with its famous cod fisheries, (5) stations on the West Coast of Africa, from which slaves were exported to the West Indies, and (6) the territories in India which had come under the control of the East India Company.

CANADA.—The loyalists from the old American colonies who settled in Upper Canada in 1783 demanded a representative Assembly. It was difficult to unite them with the French of Lower Canada (Quebec) in a single Assembly, owing to the great distances and the roughness of the country ; it seemed unfair, too, to give an Assembly to the British settlers and not to the French ; hence two Assemblies were set up in 1791, one for Upper and one for Lower Canada.

The French of Lower Canada had had no experience of self-government ; but after a time they came to realise that the Assembly, in which they had a great majority over the English and American settlers, had no real control over the Government and its policy. (*a*) The

measures passed by the Assembly were liable to be rejected by the Council, which was nominated by the Crown. They demanded therefore that the Council also should be elected by the people. (*b*) The Governor chose his own advisers or ministers from the English element; and they did not resign when a majority of the Assembly opposed them. The French at last learned that it would be well to demand that the ministers should retire whenever they lost the confidence of the Assembly—that is, that they should be "responsible" to the representatives of the people. At the end of our period, matters reached a crisis in Lower Canada. In 1837 a small rebellion took place under Louis Papineau, but it was easily put down.

In Upper Canada, the first loyalist settlers formed an aristocracy from which the Governor chose his advisers, while the newcomers, who flocked in (largely from the United States) as the colony developed, were excluded from office. The Radicals in Upper Canada demanded "responsible government" earlier than the French of Lower Canada, and they would probably have gained their end peaceably before long. But in 1837 the Governor, Sir Francis Head, was unwise and provocative, and the Radical leader, William Lyon Mackenzie, was violent and too easily provoked. In sympathy with the rebellion in Lower Canada, Mackenzie attempted a rising; but it was a complete failure.

In 1838 the Earl of Durham, the Radical who had helped to prepare and carry the Reform Act of 1832, was sent to Canada as a Royal Commissioner with special powers to find a remedy for the difficulties of government. The proposals made in his Report on this mission mark the beginning of a new period in colonial history.[1]

AUSTRALIA.—A convict settlement was made at Sydney in 1788, and free settlers began to go to New South Wales a few years later, chiefly as sheep-farmers to grow wool.

[1] See p. 317.

The coast was gradually explored, and minor settlements were formed in Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania), and at Moreton Bay, where now stands Brisbane, the capital of Queensland. Convicts were " assigned " to free settlers as labourers, and many ex-convicts (or " emancipists ") remained in the colony after their sentence had expired. The worst type of convict soon died out, but many of those transported were persons of quite good moral character who had been condemned for political offences or for such crimes as poaching. The early governors were military or naval officers, and a body of troops was maintained in New South Wales.

A period of active emigration to Canada and Australia set in during the distress which followed the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 : in 1832 the number of emigrants exceeded 100,000.

On a rumour that France proposed to make a settlement in some distant part of Australia, another colony was formed in Western Australia in 1829. But this was to be a free colony : the settlers had no convicts to work for them, while land was so cheap that every colonist took up a large quantity, and then found he was unable to make any use of it for want of labour. The colony was very unsuccessful at first, but its failure pointed the way to a better system of colonising, the most important lessons being that land should be sold at a higher price, and that the proceeds might be employed in bringing out free labourers from Britain. The advantages of this system were explained by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and it was first applied in the foundation of the colony of South Australia in 1836—another departure marking the beginning of a new period. In the same year a magistrate was sent by the Governor of New South Wales to supervise the settlers who were beginning to take up land at Port Phillip—the founders of the colony of Victoria.

India.—In 1765 the East India Company received

from the Mogul Emperor at Delhi (who still claimed a shadowy supremacy over all India), authority to collect the revenue of Bengal. For some years responsibility for the government of the province was divided between the Company and native viceroys. Many servants of the Company abused their position, allowing the natives to be oppressed in order to make fortunes for themselves. The Directors of the Company in London did what they could to check abuses, but the difficulties caused by distance and the slowness of communications made it impossible to control their servants very effectively.

When the Company applied to Government for a loan, Parliament took advantage of the opportunity to investigate its operations in India. As a result of this inquiry, "Lord North's Regulating Act" was passed in 1773. The only Governor-General under this Act was Warren Hastings, who ruled ably and successfully at Calcutta for twelve years, in spite of the opposition of the other members of his council, including Philip Francis ("Junius").[1] and the incompetence of the subordinate governments at Madras and Bombay. By making British officials responsible for the details of government, he permanently raised the standard of the Company's service. He saved British power from dangerous attacks by the Marathas in the west and by Haidar Ali, ruler of Mysore, in the south. His difficulties and achievements were not fully understood at the time: Burke and other Whigs believed the slanders of Francis; and on his return to England, Hastings was impeached for alleged harshness in some of his dealings with the natives. The trial before the House of Lords dragged on for seven years (1788-95), and ended in his acquittal. He bought back the old estate of his family, and lived there in retirement till 1818. His services were recognised before his death, both by the Company and by the Crown: but Whig historians long

[1] See p. 231.

continued to repeat the old charges without fairly examining them.

In 1784 another India Act was carried by William Pitt: the power of the Governor in India was increased, but in England he had to satisfy not only the Directors of the East India Company but also "the Board of Control," consisting of six Privy Councillors. "Patronage," or the making of appointments, remained in the hands of the Directors, but the President of the Board of Control had political powers corresponding roughly to those exercised later by the Secretary of State for India. This sharing of control by the Company and the Government lasted for about three-quarters of a century.

The British now held considerable stretches of territory on the eastern side of India. They had formed alliances with certain native powers, but had still to face the rivalry of the Mohammedan rulers in Mysore and of the Hindu Marathas. In 1799 Tipu Sultan of Mysore, who had been plotting to secure French aid against the British, was defeated and slain. His kingdom was given back to the old Hindu line, which had been expelled by the Mohammedans.

Richard, Marquess Wellesley, who was Governor-General at the time, also sent envoys to Afghanistan, Persia, and the Sikhs of the Punjab, to prepare against an attack from the north-west by Napoleon or his Russian allies.[1] Since that time the advance of Russia through Central Asia has frequently caused alarm for the safety of India.

Wellesley's most serious difficulties in India itself arose from the feuds of the Maratha chiefs. At last, in 1802, their nominal head, the ruler of Poona, asked for British protection. Great victories over his rivals were won in 1803—in the north by General Gerard Lake, who took Delhi and Agra, and brought the puppet Mogul Emperor

[1] See p. 251.

under the guardianship of the British ; and in the south by Lord Wellesley's younger brother, Arthur (afterwards Duke of Wellington), who defeated the Maratha chiefs of Nagpur and Gwalior at Assaye and Argaon. The ruler of Indore gave more trouble, and, before the war could be brought to a satisfactory end, the Directors of the Company, alarmed at the expense, recalled Lord Wellesley. The British completed their mastery of the east coast by securing the cession of Orissa, and pushed a wedge into the north-west by annexing the fertile " Doab " or Two-River District between the Ganges and the Jumna.

For some years after this the British attempted to carry out a policy of " non-intervention "—that is, of avoiding any interference in the affairs of Indian states outside the territories under British protection. But it proved quite impossible to maintain such a policy. Disorderly bands of robbers gathered round adventurous leaders in central India beyond the British sway, and raided the lands of their more industrious and law-abiding neighbours. The Maratha chiefs protected these bandits, " the Pindaris " ; and Lord Hastings [1] at last set about the task of crushing the Pindaris and punishing the Marathas. Hastings' plan of action was very ably devised, and in 1817-18 the enemy was surrounded, and after several defeats was forced to submit. The Peshwa was deposed and given a very large pension : his teritory was annexed to Bombay. The Rajput chiefs, who had suffered much at the hands of the Marathas, were now given British protection.

Besides this settlement of central India, there was some expansion to the north and north-east as a result of attacks on the British frontier by the Gurkhas of Nepal and by the Burmese. The period closed, however, with an interval of peace (1828-36), employed in bringing

[1] *N.B.*—This is not Warren Hastings.

in much-needed reforms. Among the barbarous customs of some of the natives which the British tried to suppress were the killing of female children, the burning of widows (Sati),[1] and robberies and murders by professional stranglers (Thagi).[1]

SOUTH AFRICA.—During the great wars with the French revolutionists and with Napoleon, Britain took possession of almost all the Dutch colonies ; and although Java, the richest of all, was restored, Ceylon, Guiana, and the Cape of Good Hope were retained.

At the Cape the Dutch farmers or Boers reared cattle on great runs stretching far into the " veldt " or grassy plains. They liked to have command of large open spaces, and to be free from interference by " authorities." It was said that they felt crowded if they could see the smoke of a neighbour's fire. British colonists began to be sent in considerable numbers in 1820, when the Albany settlement was founded in the east of the province, north of Algoa Bay.

The great problem of South Africa is the native question. The Kaffirs, Zulus, Basutos, and other Bantu tribes do not die out, but increase rapidly in numbers. It has to be settled on what terms they and white men can both inhabit South Africa. But the annexation of the Cape by Britain and the introduction of British settlers produced another problem which must be settled first. On what terms were Britons and Boers to live together in South Africa ? The white men must agree to a single policy in their dealings with the natives, or the difficulties of both would be increased. The ideas of the Boers, who had long been out of touch with European opinion, were those of the Old Testament. They regarded the natives as the Hebrews had regarded the people of Canaan. The British Government in the early nineteenth century was, on the other hand, under the influence of new humanitarian ideas.

[1] Pronounce—Suttee ; Thuggee.

After a Kaffir war in 1836 Governor Durban advanced the frontier of the colony in order to make it more easy to defend it. The Colonial Secretary in London, Lord Glenelg, influenced by missionaries who sympathised with the natives, ordered the territory which Durban had annexed to be given back again. This encouraged the Kaffirs in their raids, and made it very dangerous for white settlers to live near the frontier.

The Boers were enraged that the Government should listen to the tales of the missionaries rather than to its own officers. They had a grievance, too, with regard to the inadequate compensation paid to them when slavery was abolished by the British Government. They felt that the Government was hopelessly unsympathetic towards them, and their sense of insecurity drove them to wander away to the unexplored north-east [1] in order to make a settlement of their own. The dangers from the natives might be even greater in their new homes, but at least they hoped that the measures they took for their own defence would no longer be liable to be defeated by the action of a Government many hundreds of miles away. This Boer "trek" towards the Vaal River and the Drakensberg mountains was in progress at the end of the reign of William IV.

Colonial Government.—The convict colonies and the newly established free colonies in Australia, the mainly Dutch settlement in South Africa, and the other colonies added to the Empire since 1783 [2] were still without a representative Assembly at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign in 1837.

[1] To the north-west is the Kalahari desert.

[2] *E.g.*, Ceylon, Mauritius, and Singapore; Trinidad and Guiana; Malta; Sierra Leone; and Heligoland.

57. THE ERA OF FREE TRADE AND RAILWAYS, 1837-52

PENNY POSTAGE.—The great measure of 1839 was the introduction of Penny Postage for letters within the kingdom, suggested by Rowland Hill. Before 1840 the rate charged varied according to the distance—for example, London to Brighton, eight pence; London to Aberdeen, fifteen pence. The Government revenue from the Postal Service was less than half a million pounds in 1840, and over twenty million pounds in 1913.

PERIOD OF UNREST.—In spite of the great reforms which had just been introduced, "the Forties" were a period of much distress in England. Villagers and country-folk who had lost their employment continued to flock into the factory towns, where they had to live in crowded and unhealthy slums. A tenth of the people of Manchester and a seventh of the people of Liverpool were living in cellars in 1837, and the cellars in general had neither ventilation nor drainage. Squalor and filth bred disease, and for many there was no means of escape. Distress reached a climax in England in 1842. Some improvement began in the following year when the railway "boom" gave employment to many unskilled labourers as navvies.

Wages were low, while the price of wheat was kept up by duties on foreign corn, imposed in the interests of British farmers and land-owners—"the Corn Laws." [1] A loaf of bread cost a shilling. In Leeds 20,000 people earned less than a shilling a week. In Birmingham a fifth of the population were receiving poor relief.

FREE TRADE AND CHARTIST MOVEMENTS.—Two movements for reform had been set on foot in 1838: one for the free admission of corn—the Anti-Corn Law

[1] See pp. 270-1.

League, headed by Richard Cobden and John Bright; and one for the better representation of the will of the people in Parliament—"the Chartist Movement." "The People's Charter," issued by the London Working Men's Association in May 1838, proposed that every man should have a vote, and that he should be able to record it secretly by ballot, uninfluenced by fear or favour; that members of Parliament should be re-elected every year, should not be required to possess a property qualification, and should be paid for their services; and that the constituencies should be of a uniform size, so that a vote should be everywhere of the same value.[1]

The Free Traders had their headquarters at Manchester: Bright was a Lancashire man, and Cobden was a member of a Lancashire cotton firm. The Anti-Corn Law League was headed by wealthy manufacturers, well organised and working harmoniously together. The Chartists, on the other hand, were mostly poor men, their aims and plans of action varied widely, they had no leader of outstanding ability and influence, and they were not efficiently organised.

INCOME TAX.—The Whigs were defeated at a General Election in 1841. In the Budget of 1842 Peel reintroduced the Income Tax, which had hitherto been imposed only in time of war. He had reduced the import duties on 770 articles. The reduction, it was hoped, would ultimately lead to increased consumption, so that in the end the Government would derive a greater revenue than from higher duties. But at first there would be a loss, and in view of the state of the finances, an Income Tax would be necessary for a few years at least.

FOREIGN WARS.—In the beginning of 1842 the first British expedition to Afghanistan, prompted by fear of Russia's advance through Central Asia towards India,

[1] Although the Chartist movement failed, most of the demands have since been virtually granted.

ended in a great disaster, but in the autumn the reputation of British arms was retrieved.[1] In the same year a war with China, waged in order to obtain greater security for trade, especially the opium trade, ended in the annexation of Hong-Kong and the opening of several Chinese ports.

Difficulties with the United States about the boundaries of Canada were adjusted by treaties in 1842 and 1846, the former settling matters to the east, and the latter to the west, of the Rocky Mountains.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS.—In 1843 there was a terrible financial crisis which ruined many banks in the United States. Peel saw that there was so much paper money in circulation in Britain that there might be a shortage of gold if the people became afraid to accept the notes of various banks. He therefore passed an Act in 1844 altering the charter of the Bank of England, so as to restrict the issue of bank-notes and ensure the keeping of a proportionate reserve of gold in order to provide against a panic.

The Co-operative movement—the management of a shop or store by or on behalf of the purchasers—was begun in 1844 by the Rochdale Pioneers, a few Lancashire weavers. In 1913 there were over 1400 such stores in the United Kingdom, having three million members and doing business to the value of £130,000,000 a year.

In the three years 1844-5-6 Acts were passed sanctioning the construction of over 8000 miles of railway—about a third of our total mileage.

LABOUR LAWS.—During the Tory ministry of 1841-6 Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) succeeded in carrying several measures to restrict the employment of children, "young persons" under eighteen, and women, in mines and factories. (*a*) In 1842, girls and women and boys under ten were prohibited from working under-

[1] See p. 324.

ground in mines, where they had been employed for twelve hours a day as "hurriers," dragging a car of coal along narrow seams little more than two feet high by means of a chain attached to a girdle round their waists. (*b*) In 1844, children under thirteen were forbidden to be employed in factories for more than six and a half hours a day, and "the half-time system" was introduced by requiring them to attend school during another part of the day. Evidence showed that children had been worked till they fell asleep and went on mechanically working in their sleep; that they were beaten to make them go on; and that, when the day's work was at last over, they hid in the mill, being too tired to go home, and, on being driven home, could neither wash nor play, nor even eat, before falling asleep.

(*c*) In 1847 a ten-hours' day in factories was fixed for women and "young persons" [1]; and (*d*) in 1850 the working day was made to begin at 6 A.M. and end at 6 P.M.—a change which made effective inspection much easier. (Compare p. 277.)

"THE DISRUPTION."—In 1843—a year of disturbance in Ireland and of the Rebecca riots in Wales (p. 279)—there occurred what is known as "The Disruption" of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 474 out of 1203 ministers seceding to form "the Free Church," because they objected to ministers being "presented" by a patron instead of chosen by the congregation. Within four years the new Church raised £1,250,000 and built 650 churches—a proof of genuine enthusiasm. The patronage system was abolished in 1874.

IRISH TROUBLES.—O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union was checked by strong measures in 1843, when 35,000 troops were sent to Ireland. In

[1] This bill was opposed by John Bright, who feared that the interference of the State would be disastrous to trade, and said that, if it were passed, the workers themselves would ask for its repeal.

October O'Connell submitted to the dispersal of a great meeting which he had arranged to hold at Clontarf, in County Dublin; and a few days later he himself was arrested. He was convicted in 1844; but the trial had not been a fair one, and the verdict was overthrown on an appeal to the House of Lords. The leadership of the irreconcilable party in Ireland now fell into the hands of younger and more extreme men—the "Young Ireland" party—who intended to employ force in order to obtain separation.

Peel continued the attempt to redress Irish grievances, by increasing the annual Government grant to Maynooth College, which had been founded in 1795 for the training of Catholic priests, from £8000 to £26,000.

But Ireland's troubles were due chiefly to the land system. Unlike England, the country had benefited little by agricultural improvements, and the people were mainly dependent on the potato crop. The failure of this crop in 1845 threatened thousands with starvation, and made it necessary to provide for the free admission of grain.

Free Trade Adopted.—This crisis hastened on the complete conversion of Peel to Free Trade, a process which had been going on since the success of his measure for the reduction of duties in 1842. In 1845 Peel removed duties on exports, and reduced import duties on raw materials which were employed in British industries, and on other articles which were regularly used by poor as well as rich. In 1846 he removed duties on imports of foodstuffs, and reduced duties on foreign manufactures.

Peel's ministry of 1841-6, according to Lord Morley, "laid the groundwork of our solid commercial policy: it established our railway system, it settled the currency, and by no means least, it gave us a good national character in Europe as lovers of moderation, equity, and peace." The fruits of Free Trade were traced by its

supporters not only in trade returns, but in the well-being and well-doing of the people.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.—Lord John Russell formed a Whig ministry in 1846, which had to cope with increasing distress in Ireland, the potato crop being again a failure. Nearly three-quarters of a million persons were employed on relief works by March 1847; but these works were not always wisely planned: roads and drains were made in places where they could be of little or no use. In June 1847 the Government was issuing rations daily to over 3,000,000 people. 1848 was again a year of scarcity and disease, but thereafter matters improved steadily. Famine relief measures had cost the Government over seven million pounds. Between 1846 and 1851 about a million people emigrated from Ireland to America: in the ten years 1841-51 the population of Ireland fell by 20 per cent., while that of Great Britain increased by 11 per cent.

In 1848 the violence of the "Young Ireland" party was so threatening—at a time of revolution in Europe [1]—that the Habeas Corpus Act had to be suspended in Ireland, and some of the agitators were arrested and transported. An Act of 1849 made it easier to dispose of "encumbered estates," which the landlord in many cases could not afford to improve. But the new landlords had less knowledge of local conditions, and less sympathy with their tenants; and the plight of the peasantry became worse instead of better. In 1850 the Queen visited Ireland, and the Government ventured to lower the Irish franchise, so as to include five-pound freeholders in the counties and twelve-pound householders in the boroughs.

THE CHARTISTS.—England itself—perhaps owing to Free Trade and cheaper food—was little affected by the spirit of revolution in 1848. A monster Chartist petition

[1] There were revolutionary movements in 1848 in France, Germany, Italy, and the Austrian Empire.

was presented to Parliament in April, but the Duke of Wellington provided against riot by enrolling 170,000 citizens of London as special constables, and preventing the mob (who gathered at Kennington Common) from crossing to the north side of the Thames.

PUBLIC HEALTH.—A second great epidemic of cholera [1] in 1848-9 killed 55,000 people in England and Wales, and 25,000 more were carried off in 1853-4. The danger forced the Government to establish a Board of Health in 1848. The two main improvements to which the Commissioners directed the attention of local authorities were the provision of a pure water supply and efficient drainage.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.—In 1850 permission was given to the ratepayers of any district in England to tax themselves to the amount of ½d. in the pound (1d. in the pound from 1855) for the purpose of establishing a public library. The libraries established under this Act have provided thousands of people with an interest in life which they could not otherwise have enjoyed. A more definitely and exclusively educative institution was the Working Men's College established in London in 1854.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851.—Among the notable events of 1851 in Britain was the holding of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, one of the attractions of which was the Crystal Palace, in which it was held, and which was afterwards removed to Sydenham, in the south of London. The Exhibition was hopefully regarded as marking a great advance towards the co-operation of nations in peaceful enterprises.

EMPEROR NAPOLEON III.—But in the beginning of December, only six weeks after the close of the Exhibition, Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon, who had been made President of the French Republic, arrested the leaders of

[1] See p. 276.

the Opposition, and appealed to the country to increase his own power. A year later, on the 2nd December 1852, he assumed the title Emperor Napoleon III. Like his uncle, he was regarded with great distrust as a danger to the peace of Europe.

58. DISTANT WARS: DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, 1852-68

THE CRIMEAN WAR.—At this time the Czar of Russia claimed that he had by treaty the right to protect the Christians of the Greek Church in Turkey. The other Powers were very jealous of any extension of Russia's authority southwards to the Black Sea or the straits between it and the Mediterranean — the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. It was held to be dangerous to the peace of the world that any of the great Powers should establish itself at Constantinople, "that incomparable centre of imperial power, standing in Europe but facing Asia." The Powers attempted by peaceful means to induce Russia to give way, but the Emperor Napoleon and Lord Palmerston were both ready, if not eager, to go to war in order to check the growth of Russian influence in the Turkish Empire.

War between Russia and Turkey began in October 1853. When Britain and France sent their fleets into the Black Sea to restrain the raids of the Russian squadron which had its base at Sebastopol, the Czar in 1854 withdrew his ambassadors from London and Paris. Britain and France made a treaty with Turkey, and war was declared against Russia.

The chief operations of the war, so far as Britain and France were concerned, took place in the Crimea, a peninsula on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The troops landed in September 1854, and quickly won a victory on the river Alma. Had the French commander

been willing to follow this up immediately, Sebastopol might have been taken; but the cautious policy adopted gave the Russians time to strengthen the defences greatly. The victories of Balaclava and Inkerman in October and November simply maintained the position of the besieging armies, which had then to prepare for a winter in the field.

Twenty store-ships were wrecked in a hurricane in November, and terrible sufferings were caused by insufficient food and shelter and the inadequate arrangements for the care of the sick and wounded. The hospitals were soon improved under the direction of Miss Florence Nightingale; but the Government was blamed by the people for all the distresses of the army.

In January 1855 the King of Sardinia sent 15,000 troops to join the British and French forces in the Crimea. The Czar Nicholas died at the beginning of March. A few days later a conference met at Vienna, but it failed to bring about a settlement, and the siege of Sebastopol continued. Though the British twice failed in attacks on the Redan,[1] the capture of the Malakoff[1] by the French in September compelled the Russian commander to blow up the magazine, sink the ships, and abandon the town.

Terms of Peace.—In February 1856 another peace conference met at Paris, and a treaty was signed at the end of March. "The Danubian Principalities," Moldavia and Wallachia, were to have separate governments: in 1859 they chose the same ruler, and in 1861 united under the name of Rumania. The Powers accepted Turkey's promises of reform, and disclaimed the right of interference in her internal affairs. Neither Russia nor Turkey was to keep warships in the Black Sea. At the same time, by "The Declaration of Paris" it was agreed that a Power at war should not seize (1) enemies' goods in a

[1] Defences of Sebastopol.

neutral vessel, or (2) neutral goods in an enemy's vessel, unless these goods were contraband of war; and that "blockades" were only to be respected if they were really effective—that is, to cut off an enemy's port from trade, a written order was not enough; there must also be ships actually on the watch.

It was calculated that the war cost Britain nearly £78,000,000.

China and India.—Trouble arose in October 1856 with the Chinese, who seized, on a charge of piracy, a vessel called the *Arrow* which was carrying the British flag. The British representative, Sir John Bowring, demanded redress and also the better enforcement of former treaties with regard to trade. Hostilities began in November.

The Indian Mutiny in the summer of 1857 [1] distracted attention for a time from China. Troops intended for China were diverted to help to save India; and it was not till June 1858 that the Chinese were forced to accept terms proposed by the British. Even then fighting had to be renewed in 1860 before the authorities would ratify and carry out the treaty made in 1858.

Tory Government, 1858-9.—A new ministry under Lord Derby carried the Act which transferred the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. Other measures of 1858 allowed Jews to sit in Parliament, and abolished the property qualification for members. In 1859 Benjamin Disraeli introduced a Reform Bill to lower the franchise in the counties, but the measure did not go far enough to please Liberal reformers: it was defeated in April, and Parliament was dissolved.

The Tories failed to secure a majority at the General Election, and Palmerston became Prime Minister, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary, and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[1] See pp. 325.

UNIFICATION OF ITALY.—As the result of a war in the spring and summer of 1859, the kingdom of Savoy or Sardinia, with the aid of France, freed most of Northern Italy from Austrian rule. Sardinia had long been preparing for the war under the guidance of a great statesman, Count Cavour; but at the crisis, when other Powers, especially Britain, were working for peace, Austria put herself in the wrong by sending an ultimatum with a three days' limit. The people of Central Italy, Naples, and Sicily joined the new kingdom before the end of 1860; but Napoleon III claimed Savoy and Nice in the north-west as a reward for the help given by France. Venice was added to the kingdom of Italy in 1866,[1] and Rome in 1870.[2] British policy, under the influence of Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, was friendly to the Italians.

Great suspicion of French aggressiveness was aroused by the annexation of Savoy and Nice; and a Volunteer Force was formed in Britain to resist a possible invasion. It was not for commercial reasons only, but also in the interests of peace, that in 1860 Cobden, the great Free Trade leader, arranged a commercial treaty with France. The economic results at least were satisfactory, for our exports to France doubled in the next three years.

GLADSTONE'S REFORMS.—Gladstone's great budget of 1860 proceeded on Free Trade lines by abolishing customs duties on 371 articles, leaving only fifteen articles of any importance in the tariff. In 1860 the duty on spirits was raised to 10s. a gallon. This high duty was imposed for the purpose of restricting drunkenness, but the increasing popularity of tea and the general improvement in social conditions did more to promote temperance

[1] As the result of an arrangement with Prussia at the time of the Austro-Prussian War.

[2] When French troops which had been supporting the Pope had to be withdrawn for the Franco-Prussian War.

than did the rise in the price of spirits. The repeal of the excise duty on paper in 1861 enabled newspapers to lower their price.

In 1861 the Post Office Savings Bank was established by Gladstone, who regarded the measure as one of his most useful achievements. It took care of the savings of the people with safety, cheapness, and convenience; and at the same time brought in a revenue to the State. Half a century later, in 1911, over £176,000,000 was invested in the Bank.

Our Educational System.—By 1858 the Government grant in aid of education [1] had grown to over £660,000 a year, and a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the progress made. As a result of its work, a new code was introduced in 1862 by Robert Lowe, which provided for "payment by results." This may have reduced the cost to the Government, but it also tended to limit education to "cramming" for the examinations which were necessary for earning a grant. Till 1890 this code (with the Act of 1870 [2]) was the foundation of our educational system. The results in the first few years did not indicate any success in raising the standard of education. The grant fell steadily from £842,000 in 1861 to £635,000 in 1865.

American Civil War.—In 1861 began the great American Civil War. The southern slave-holding states sought to separate from the Federal Government of the United States, which was under the presidency of an anti-slavery champion, Abraham Lincoln, and to form an independent Confederation with Jefferson Davis as President. The Republic had extended greatly since the original thirteen states established their independence. Louisiana—the west, from the Mississippi to the Rockies—had been acquired from Napoleon; Florida and the Pacific slope, from Spain; Texas, from Mexico, after

[1] See p. 277. [2] See pp. 306-7.

Mexico became independent of Spain; and Oregon, by natural expansion and the boundary treaty of 1846 with Britain. The North outnumbered the white men of the South by four to one, and the war ended on 9th April 1865 with the surrender of the Southern General, Robert E. Lee, to General Ulysses S. Grant, at Appomattox in Virginia. Five days after Lee's surrender, President Lincoln was assassinated by a Southerner in Ford's Theatre at Washington.

The most important effect of the war on England was that the supply of raw cotton for the factories of Lancashire (from the Southern states) was cut off; and much unemployment and distress followed. At the end of 1862 about half a million people in Lancashire were receiving assistance either from the Poor Rates or from Relief Committees.

In June 1862 an accidental delay on the part of British Government officials enabled an armed cruiser, the *Alabama*, to escape from Birkenhead; it acted as a privateer for two years on behalf of the Southern Confederacy, during which time it captured more than sixty merchant vessels belonging to citizens of the Northern states.

Britain agreed in 1871 to submit to arbitration the American claims against her in respect of the escape of the *Alabama*. In 1872 an International Tribunal, at Geneva, awarded the United States £3,250,000. This peaceful settlement of an international dispute has been described as "the most notable victory in the nineteenth century of the noble art of preventive diplomacy."

PALMERSTON AND PROSPERITY.—Palmerston esteemed British institutions too highly to wish to change them: the years of his government were not a period of reform, but they were on the whole very prosperous years, and the people in general were well contented. During Palmerston's administration, 3000 miles of railway were constructed; a million tons of shipping added to the

mercantile marine; and £18,000,000 taken off the National Debt. The Income Tax was gradually lowered by Gladstone, and in 1865 it was only 4d. in the pound. Expenditure on armaments was kept down, in spite of improvements in artillery and the introduction of iron-clad battleships.

ATTEMPTED REFORM OF THE FRANCHISE.—Although the population of England and Wales was now over twenty-one million, less than one million of the people had the right to vote at Parliamentary elections. Lord John Russell, who was made Earl Russell in 1861, and became Prime Minister on the death of Palmerston in 1865, proposed in 1866 to lower the franchise both in counties and in towns. His bill proposed only to add about 400,000 new voters, but it aroused opposition even among the Whigs, and the discontented party, eloquently led by Robert Lowe, helped the Tories to defeat the Government in June.

AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR.—A dispute arose in 1863 about the succession to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had been held by the King of Denmark, who died in November of that year. Prussia, under the leadership of a great statesman, Count Otto von Bismarck, arranged with Austria to occupy the duchies jointly,[1] pending settlement of the succession. When Bismarck was ready for war two years later, he picked a quarrel with Austria and with the smaller German states which supported her.

"The Seven Weeks' War" was practically decided in favour of Prussia by the battle of Sadowa, near Königgrätz, in Bohemia. The result was to make Prussia the

[1] This intervention involved a short war with Denmark. Bismarck had secured the friendship of Russia in 1863 by his sympathetic attitude when a last rising in Poland was suppressed by the Czar. Britain and France, although sympathetic, could not agree to help either the Poles or the Danes.

leading power in Germany, and to sever Venice from Austria and add it to the kingdom of Italy. Prussia annexed not only the duchies originally in dispute, with the port of Kiel and the opportunity to construct a canal between the North Sea and the Baltic, but also Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, which had fought on the side of Austria. In the North German Confederation, which was formed in 1867, Prussia had a position of undisputed supremacy.

Austria, which represented to some extent the old Holy Roman Empire, ceased to be either a German or an Italian power. In 1867 the Austrian Empire was converted into "the Dual Monarchy" of Austria-Hungary, Austria and Hungary having each a Parliament and a Cabinet of its own, with joint ministers for Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. In Hungary political power was monopolised by one race, the Magyars, and the Slav peoples were oppressed in many ways.

Reform Act of 1867.—Demonstrations in favour of a Reform Act took place in various parts of Britain, and an attempt to prevent a meeting in Hyde Park led to a riotous scene; but no very serious damage was done. Disraeli, again in office under Lord Derby, announced the principles of a Reform Bill in 1867: they were unfavourably received, and he had to alter them in March so as to make them more liberal. Further alterations were made in Committee, and the bill became law before the end of the session.

(1) In towns all householders who paid rates were to have a vote after twelve months' residence: *i.e.*, the Act established the principle of "Household Suffrage."

(2) In counties occupiers paying £12 rent were to have a vote: thus, although the workers of the towns received a vote, agricultural labourers did not.

(3) Lodgers were to have a vote after twelve months' occupation of rooms of the value of £10 a year (unfurnished).

(4) Seats were taken away from small boroughs, and given to rising towns or to the counties. Fifty-two seats were thus redistributed.

J. S. Mill's proposal to give votes to women was rejected by 196 votes to 73.

Reform Acts for Scotland and Ireland, similar to the English Act, were passed in 1868; but, in spite of this, the number of voters in the United Kingdom was still less than 2,500,000.

In 1867 the Tories also passed the statute which created the Dominion of Canada; they extended the Factory Acts; practically took away the right of the Justices of the Peace to imprison a workman for breach of contract; and appointed a Royal Commission to consider the position of Trade Unions.

59. THE RISE OF THE IRISH NATIONALISTS, 1868-84

THE FENIANS.—The old question of Irish discontent was brought to the front again in the years after the American War in 1865 by a series of outrages in Ireland and in England, perpetrated by a secret society, the Fenian Brotherhood, which had been founded in America and was largely supported by Irish Americans. Two million Irish had emigrated, most of them to America, in the fifteen years after the potato famine. Their old grievances against Great Britain lost nothing of their keenness in the United States, where opinion at this time was very unfriendly to the British Government. Canada was invaded by Fenians from the United States in 1866, but the Canadians had no difficulty in suppressing them.

IRISH CHURCH ACT, 1869. — Gladstone succeeded Russell as Liberal leader, and sought to rally the party for an attempt to solve the perpetual problem of Ireland—by

attacking first the Church question, and then the Land question.

At the end of 1868 there was a General Election, and the Liberals secured a majority of about 120. From this time two parties are more clearly pitted against each other in Great Britain than had been the case since Peel's conversion to Free Trade split the old Tory party, viz., Liberals (Whig), Conservatives (Tory).

Gladstone's Irish Church Act of 1869 put an end to the support by the State of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland—the Church of a small minority of the people; but there was a great struggle with the House of Lords before terms were agreed to for the disposal of the property of the Church. The purposes to which the old Church revenues have been applied (after compensating the Churchmen) have been education, the alleviation of distress, and the encouragement of fisheries.

IRISH LAND ACT, 1870.—The Irish Land Act of 1870 provided that an evicted tenant should be entitled to compensation for any improvements made by him which added to the value of the land. Holdings in Ireland were very small, and landlords were unable to equip them all. Such improvements as existed were generally the work of the occupier, but this was the first legal acknowledgement that the tenant had any rights over the land for which he could claim to be compensated. In spite of the Act, rents continued to be high, and evictions still took place. Outrages continued, and measures of repression were passed in 1870 and 1871. An association, which was formed in 1870 to work for self-government for Ireland, developed in 1873 into the "Home Rule League."

NATIONAL EDUCATION.—It has been shown that Parliament made its first grant to assist the education of children other than those of the wealthy in 1833, and

that the grants had since been increased and provision made for inspection. Yet, when the right of voting was widely extended in 1867, nearly half the children of school age had no school to go to. In 1870 a great Education Act established School Boards; required them to provide a sufficient number of schools—"to complete the voluntary system and to fill up gaps"; and empowered them, if they thought fit, to enforce the attendance of children between the ages of five and thirteen. In ten years the number of schools and scholars more than doubled. Then in 1880 education was made compulsory in England without leaving an option to the local authorities.

Scotland was better equipped with schools than England, but the old parish schools (established under an Act of 1696) required to be improved, and an Act of 1872 provided for compulsory education under the authority of elected School Boards in every parish and burgh.

In 1870 it was enacted that appointments in the Home Civil Service (except in the Foreign Office) should be made by open competition. In 1871 the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge threw open their degrees and teaching appointments to men who were not members of the Church of England. About the same time Oxford and Cambridge widened the sphere of their activities by teaching in various centres through "University Extension" lectures, which began in the year of the Reform Act, 1867; and by testing school children throughout the country by "Local Examinations." In the seventies, also, colleges for women were opened at Oxford (Somerville College) and at Cambridge (Girton and Newnham).[1]

FURTHER REFORMS.—By the Budget of 1870 the *newspaper duty* was abolished, and halfpenny *postcards*

[1] At this time also women abandoned the long-fashionable crinoline or expanded skirt, and many of them took a share in the new sports and recreations of the following years, such as lawn-tennis and cycling.

were introduced. Reforms began to be made in the *Army*. The minimum period for which a soldier might enlist was reduced to three years—the " short service " system ; and the country was divided into districts for military purposes. The system by which officers purchased their commissions was also abolished. In 1872 electors were protected from the danger of being intimidated, by an Act which provided for secret *voting by ballot*. Thus, besides his great Irish measures, Gladstone had " democratised " education, the Army, and parliamentary elections.

Franco-Prussian War. — In 1870 the crown of Spain was offered to a member of the House of Hohenzollern, the royal family of Prussia. The French Government protested, and, even when the candidate withdrew, persisted in asking assurances for the future from the King of Prussia. Bismarck, his minister, who wished for war as a means of uniting the German states, contrived to present the refusal of this demand in such a way as to make war almost certain. The rulers of France were no less anxious for war, though much less well prepared. Britain made treaties with both sides, undertaking to act against either side if it should violate Belgian neutrality.

War was declared by France on 19th July 1870. Napoleon himself, with 80,000 men, surrendered at Sedan in September. General Bazaine surrendered Metz and a force of 140,000 men in October. Paris capitulated in January 1871. Peace had to be purchased by the cession of Alsace and Lorraine and the payment of an indemnity of £200,000,000. The sweeping success of the Germans was due to the organisation of the Prussian army under Count Albert von Roon, and the strategic genius of Baron von Moltke.

The Emperor Napoleon III was dethroned, and, after a period of tumult and confusion, a republic was set up in France.

Formation of German Empire. — The North

German Confederation, of which Prussia had made itself the head after defeating Austria in 1866, was joined by the South German states in the "German Empire," which was proclaimed at Versailles in January 1871. The German Empire was a federal union of four kingdoms, twenty-one other states, and the Imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine. The only Imperial minister was the Chancellor, who was responsible not to Parliament but to the Emperor.

About the end of 1870 Russia took advantage of the war in western Europe to throw off the restriction imposed by the Treaty of Paris in 1856 on the keeping of war-vessels in the Black Sea. Italy similarly seized the opportunity to occupy Rome and annex the Papal Territories.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF BRITAIN.—The Whigs had become committed to the doctrine of individual liberty, and opposed to the interference of the State with trade or industry, and hence had failed to remedy various grievances of "the working classes" under the modern industrial system. The Conservative leader, Disraeli, had a clearer view of the needs of the country, and was more prepared to embark on a policy of social and economic improvements at home. He also introduced a new sympathy with the British people in the colonies, a new pride in the Empire.

The Conservative party had much in its favour on taking office in 1874. The National Debt had been reduced by over £20,000,000 in the last six years, in spite of great remissions of taxation: there was a large surplus, and the Income Tax was reduced to the lowest figure it ever reached—2d. in the pound. But the opening up of the American West by railways was beginning to provide serious competition for British corn-growers, and foreign countries were preparing to challenge the claim of Britain to be "the workshop of the world," and to protect their own industries by tariff-walls. The prospects

for the party and for Britain were less rosy than they seemed at the time.

The Conservatives began well with several useful measures of social reform, giving Corporations power to take over slum dwellings by compulsory purchase in order to provide better houses for workmen; making it easier to purchase land; protecting the rights of tenants; and making provision against the risking of sailors' lives in unseaworthy ships which had been heavily insured.

TRADE UNIONS: LABOUR IN PARLIAMENT.—In the decade following the Combination Acts of 1824 and 1825, which allowed workmen to combine for the purpose of raising wages, three or four attempts had been made to form national confederations of Trade Unions, either in a group of trades or for all trades. These were opposed by employers, and they had no permanent result.[1] Workmen next turned to "political action" in the struggle for "the Charter," but this policy met with no better success. From the middle of the century the pendulum swung back to "industrial" or "direct" action through national trade unions.

The position of the unions at law remained very doubtful, as they were regarded as associations or conspiracies "in restraint of trade."[2] Their strikes had not the support of public opinion, and they had still much to learn in the way of organisation. As a result of the commission of inquiry appointed by the Tory Government in 1867, the funds of the unions were protected by law in 1871; and in 1876 the unions were allowed to employ peaceful methods to persuade workmen to take part in a trade dispute with their employers. Between these years,

[1] See pp. 279-80.

[2] For this reason a union of boilermakers had been denied redress by the law courts against an official who had misappropriated its funds.

1871 and 1876, membership of the unions was more than doubled. Most of the town workers had obtained a vote in 1867, and from 1868 a Parliamentary Committee was annually appointed at a general congress of the trade unions of the kingdom. The fruits of this were seen when thirteen Labour candidates appeared at the General Election in 1874: two of these, both miners, were returned to Parliament.

SUEZ AND INDIA. — In 1875 Disraeli secured for Britain, at a cost of £4,000,000, the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company—nearly half of the whole stock. Britain was politically interested in the Canal as the quickest and most important route to India: but even from a purely financial point of view the bargain has turned out amazingly well; a generation later the shares had risen sevenfold in value.

In the winter of 1875-6 the Prince of Wales visited India; in 1876 an Act of Parliament conferred on the Queen the title "Empress of India," which was proclaimed on 1st January 1877. At the close of the session of 1876 Disraeli went to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield.

RUSSO-TURKISH WAR.—The Government of Turkey had shown no improvement since the Crimean War. In 1876 there were risings in different parts of the Balkan peninsula. Serbia and Montenegro assumed the leadership of the Slavs of the peninsula, and went to war with Turkey. Russia was ready to support them, but the other Powers were afraid of the increase of Russian influence in the Balkans. The cruelty of the Turks in suppressing the risings aroused widespread indignation, and Gladstone, who had resigned the leadership of the Liberal Party in 1875, re-entered the field of politics to denounce not only "the Bulgarian atrocities," but the foreign policy of the British Government, which he considered too favourable to Turkey. He hoped that the abuses would be ended by

the expulsion of the Turks, " bag and baggage . . . from the province they have desolated and profaned."

Serbia was badly beaten, but European intervention saved her. A conference of the Powers met at Constantinople in December 1876 and January 1877, but the Turks refused to accept their programme of reform, and Russia declared war against Turkey in April. By the beginning of 1878 Russia was completely victorious, and the other Powers became alarmed for the safety of Constantinople, a place which it was considered dangerous to allow any one of the great European States to annex. It would have given Russia not only complete command of the Black Sea, but very great power in the Eastern Mediterranean, which is of special importance to Britain as the highway to India. In February there was an outburst of war fever against Russia in London, and the windows of Gladstone's house were broken. When the treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey in March 1878, the Powers insisted that it should be submitted to a European Congress at Berlin.

" PEACE WITH HONOUR."—The Berlin Conference met in June and July 1878 : Beaconsfield and Salisbury attended on behalf of Great Britain, and on their return reported that they brought home " peace with honour." Among the conditions of peace were the independence of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, and self-government for Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia. The latter provinces still acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultan. Seven years later they united, but it was not till 1908 that Bulgaria gained complete independence. Russia extended her empire over southern Bessarabia to the river Pruth. The territory thus acquired was taken from Rumania, but the latter was compensated with a strip of coast farther south which was taken from the Turks and Bulgarians. Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Adriatic were occupied and administered, but not annexed, by Austria.

The changes in the San Stefano arrangements made at Berlin were (1) the restoration of Macedonia and part of Thrace to Turkey; (2) the separation of "Eastern Rumelia" from Bulgaria—to prevent the creation of a "big Bulgaria" under Russian influence; and (3) the admission of Austria to Bosnia and Herzegovina—also as a check to Russian advance in the Balkan peninsula.

Thus, from fear of Russia, the patron of Turkey's rebellious subjects, Britain bolstered up the evil government of the Sultan and stood in the way of the realisation of their ambitions by the Christian states of the Balkans. Bulgaria and Rumania both lost territory on the east coast, and Serbia was shut out from the west coast by the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austrian ambitions were stimulated, and henceforth the Balkan States had as much to fear from Austria as from Russia.

Disasters and Depression.—In 1879 a very rainy summer was followed by a bad harvest, by sheep and cattle disease, and by a general depression of trade. In Scotland matters were made worse by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank. The competition of corn grown in the rapidly developing new lands in the west of the United States was now being very severely felt by British farmers. People became unwilling to invest capital in agricultural land, and, as farm wages were low, country workers tended more and more to migrate to the towns.

There was famine in the west of Ireland, and the Land League was founded in October to try to get rid of landlords altogether, and transfer the land to the people. The first step was for tenants to offer what they considered a fair rent, and, failing acceptance of that, to pay none. The Irish Nationalists in Parliament had separated themselves from the Liberal party in 1877, and, under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, had taken up an attitude of general opposition to the British Government

and obstruction of the work of Parliament until Ireland should receive Home Rule.

A war against the Zulus in South Africa opened in January 1879 with a disaster; and this had scarcely been repaired, when an envoy whom we had insisted upon stationing in Afghanistan was murdered with his suite.[1]

GLADSTONE'S MIDLOTHIAN CAMPAIGN.—During the last two months of 1879 Gladstone denounced the foreign policy of the Government, and called for caution and economy, in a series of speeches near Edinburgh—"the Midlothian Campaign." The "drenching rhetoric," as Beaconsfield called it, had a great effect, and at the General Election in March 1880 the Liberals, whose party organisation had been made very efficient by a Birmingham Radical, Joseph Chamberlain, secured a majority of 107 apart from the 63 Irish Home Rulers.

LAND TROUBLES IN IRELAND.—An Act of 1849 had made it easier for Irish landlords to dispose of their mortgaged estates, and much land had passed into the hands of speculators who had no sympathy with the tenants and no scruples about making the utmost profits for themselves.[2] In the next eight years 7500 new landlords obtained properties in Ireland, and in the course of a generation (1849-82) over 100,000 evictions took place. In 1880 the House of Lords rejected by a large majority a measure for the benefit of tenants who were unable to pay rent owing to a bad harvest.

The Land League thereupon adopted the policy of "boycotting" anyone who occupied a farm from which the tenant had been evicted: this meant that none of his neighbours would have anything to do with him, and that he could not purchase from them anything he required. In spite of persistent obstruction by the Nationalist members, who kept the House sitting on one occasion for forty-one hours, strong measures were passed

[1] See pp. 321 and 327. [2] See p. 295.

by Parliament early in 1881 increasing the power of the authorities to arrest suspected persons, and to seize arms and ammunition in private houses.

LAND ACT OF 1881.—The Government then proceeded to carry a Land Bill, which was intended to meet the real grievances of the Irish peasants. (1) A Land Court was to fix a fair rent (for fifteen years); (2) if he paid this, the tenant was not to be evicted; (3) if he gave up his farm, the tenant was to have the right to make the landlord or the new tenant pay for the increase in the value of the land caused by the improvements which he had made—his interest or right in the land. These principles were known as "the Three F's"—Fair Rents, Fixed Tenure, and Free Sale of Tenants' Rights. Government also undertook to advance money for making improvements, for emigration, and to help tenants who wished to purchase their holdings. The Lords allowed the bill to pass with some amendments.

PARNELL AND IRISH DISTURBANCES.—Outrages continued in Ireland after the passing of the Land Act, and the Irish leaders showed no readiness to give it a fair chance. They forbade tenants to take advantage of the Act without the consent of the local branch of the League. The Government replied by arresting Parnell in October, and proclaiming the Land League an unlawful association. This did not improve matters, and the Government had to choose between still more stringent measures of repression, which most of its members were unwilling to adopt, and an attempt to come to terms with Parnell, "the uncrowned king of Ireland." The latter plan was adopted.

By what was called "the Treaty of Kilmainham Jail," Parnell was to be released, and he was to use his influence in checking outrages, and thus enable the Government to attempt reform without passing severe

measures of coercion. This arrangement was rendered of no effect by the murder of the Irish Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the brother of Lord Hartington, and Thomas Burke, the Under-Secretary, by Fenians in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, in May 1882. The crime was the work of "the Invincibles," a section of the irreconcilable American-Irish party, and it had the intended effect of preventing a peaceful settlement and reconciliation. "The National League" was formed in 1882 to carry on the work of the Land League, and especially to work for Home Rule. The Government was driven again to a policy of repression. "The Crimes Act"—again long obstructed by the Irish—gave still greater powers to the police to take precautionary measures, and authorised special judges, in cases of treason, murder, and other outrages, to act without a jury. (This last provision was never put in force.) A conciliatory measure was also passed for the cancelling of arrears of rent on certain conditions.

From 1883 to 1885 a number of dynamite explosions occurred in London—the work of another American-Irish association, the Clan-na-Gael; but there was no loss of life, and a number of "dynamitards" were arrested. Outrages in the country districts of Ireland itself were becoming less numerous.

Reform Act of 1884.—In 1884 another Reform Act was carried, by which the county franchise was lowered to £10 rental so as to admit the agricultural labourer, and household and lodger franchises were extended. Nearly two million voters were added to the roll: the 1832 Act had added less than half a million, and the 1867 Act less than a million. In July the Lords refused to pass the bill until the Government produced a scheme of redistribution of seats. Mr John Morley thereupon declared that the House of Lords must be "mended or ended"; but, on Lord Hartington's suggestion, a com-

promise was arranged by a conference between the leaders of the two parties, and both bills became law. One hundred and sixty seats were re-distributed : London gained thirty-seven members, Yorkshire sixteen, Lancashire fifteen, and Scotland twelve. The total membership of the House was raised from 658 to 670.

In June 1885 the Government resigned, and the Conservatives—led by Lord Salisbury since the death of Beaconsfield in 1881—held office for a few months till arrangements could be made for a General Election under the new Act.

60. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1837-84

Responsible Government in the Colonies.—Since the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815 large numbers of British people had poured into Canada and Australia. As the population and prosperity of the colonies increased, there naturally arose in their people a desire for self-government, for the right to manage their own affairs. This, at least in part, was the explanation of the Canadian risings of 1837 ; and from that time it became impossible to maintain for long a policy of governing from Downing Street colonies which were inhabited by British or European settlers. Lord Durham made this clear in his famous Report in 1838.[1] He recommended that the two Canadas should be united, and that the Government should be responsible to the Canadian people. The ministers (the Executive Council, as they were called) would have to resign if they lost the confidence of the majority in the Canadian Parliament : and the Union secured that the majority would be British, not French.[2]

[1] See p. 283.

[2] In Lower Canada there were 450,000 French to less than 150,000 British, but in Upper Canada almost all of the 400,000 settlers were British.

When Free Trade was adopted by Britain in 1846-9, she ceased to make any attempt to regulate colonial trade by means of duties; and it was said that no motive remained which could induce Britain to interfere with self-government in the colonies. If, then, it was argued, they had full control of their own home policy, they should also become responsible for their own local defence, and so relieve the British taxpayer at home from part of his very heavy burden. Responsible government was granted to New Zealand and the Australian colonies between 1852 and 1856, and to the Cape of Good Hope in 1872. The British troops in the colonies were gradually withdrawn. But the British navy remained entirely responsible for the defence of the Empire at sea and of Imperial trade, and the British Foreign Office remained responsible for the foreign policy of the Empire.

Dominion of Canada.—The confederation of the British North American colonies into the Dominion of Canada [1] was regarded by many as a step towards separation by making the colonists more able to stand alone. The Canadian statesmen themselves did not so regard the matter, and the first Prime Minister of the Dominion, Sir John A. Macdonald, looked forward to the cordial alliance of friendly nations within the Empire, bound together by sharing the free institutions of Britain and her high standard of public life.

Just as the Union proposed by Lord Durham was effected in 1840 at the time when the first line of steamships began to run between Liverpool, Halifax, and Boston (the Cunard Line), so the Confederation of 1867

[1] Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick federated in 1867. The Hudson Bay Company territories were purchased in 1869, and Manitoba carved out of them in 1870. British Columbia joined in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. After the opening up of the west, Alberta and Saskatchewan were made provinces in 1905. Newfoundland remained outside the Dominion.

immediately followed the successful laying of the Atlantic telegraph cable in 1866.

In the early years of his second ministry, which began in 1878, Macdonald was engaged in building up the strength of Canada by encouraging the making of the great Canadian Pacific Railway, which not only opened up the prairie country for corn-growing, but brought the markets of the East (China and Japan) nearer to Eastern Canada and to Europe. Macdonald also adopted the policy of imposing a high duty on foreign goods, in order to encourage Canadians to start new industries for themselves. This policy of Protection was known in Canada as " the National policy."

SOUTH AFRICA.—In South Africa there were frequent troubles with the various tribes of natives, but the first question that had to be settled was the relation of the British Government to the farmers who had trekked to the north-east. Natal, on the east coast, was annexed in 1844. But in the interior at this time the British Government sought to accept as little responsibility as possible : it made treaties with the tribes immediately north of the Cape frontier, and took no notice of the Boers who lay beyond them, though it refused to admit that they had ceased to be British subjects.

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the extension of British sovereignty to the Vaal River—that is, over what is now the Orange Free State. In 1851 there were native wars with both the Kaffirs and the Basutos ; and the Boers beyond the Vaal (" Transvaal ") took advantage of the difficulties of the Government to secure the recognition of their independence by the Sand River Convention (1852). The British then hastened to put an end to the war with the Basutos, and withdrew from the Orange Free State in 1854.

The next Governor of the Cape was Sir George Grey, who spent in South Africa the time between his two

governorships in New Zealand (1854-61).[1] He proposed a federation of the South African states and colonies, enabling Boers and British to deal with *local* concerns each in their own way, and providing for a single policy in the *wider* interests of South Africa, such as questions affecting the natives, trade, or defence. The Orange Free State was willing to agree to some such arrangement, and Grey, in defiance of his instructions, in 1858 laid a proposal before the Cape Assembly. He was recalled in 1859, and, though he was sent back to the Cape by a new ministry in England, the plan was set aside for a time.

The next attempt to federate South Africa was even more unfortunate. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, South Africa lost much of its old importance as a station on the way to the East Indies, but mineral discoveries about the same time gave it a new attraction of its own. When the British in 1870 took over from a native chief the diamond fields of Griqualand West, the Boers, who had laid claim to the territory, were greatly discontented. They were still nursing their grievances when Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, in 1875 revived the plan of federation. Even the British at the Cape, to whom responsible government had been granted in 1872, thought that the Colonial Secretary was interfering too much, and refused to proceed with the matter under dictation from London.

The Transvaal had not been flourishing, and in 1876 it was bankrupt, and in more than one direction native wars were actually in progress or threatening to break out. The British Government, realising the danger which threatened white men throughout South Africa, commissioned Sir Theophilus Shepstone to proceed to Pretoria and to annex the Transvaal Republic, if it should seem to be necessary and to be desired by the inhabitants. A few months later Sir Henry Bartle Frere was sent out to South

[1] See p. 323.

Africa as Governor and High Commissioner to try to bring about a confederation.

A few days after Frere landed, Shepstone annexed the Transvaal. Frere's personal attention was then occupied by Kaffir and Zulu wars [1]; and, in spite of his advice, the British Government showed no haste to grant a constitution to the Transvaal. When the constitution did arrive, it did not provide for control by representatives of the people.

The Liberals came into power in England in April 1880; but they did not give up the Transvaal, as the Boers had expected after Gladstone's election speeches. Months were wasted, as Lord Morley says, in "loitering unwisdom." In December 1880 the Boers proclaimed the re-establishment of the Republic and went to war.

The British Government at once set negotiations on foot, but in the meantime Sir George Colley, anxious to relieve the British party in the Transvaal, attempted to force his way through the Drakensberg Mountains, and was defeated and killed at Majuba Hill, in February 1881. The Gladstone Government continued to treat without making any attempt to avenge Majuba or to restore the credit of the British army.

The Boers were granted self-government under the "suzerainty" of the Queen: the British Government was to have control over the foreign relations of the Republic. This arrangement—the Pretoria Convention of 1881—was altered in 1884 by the London Convention, which dropped the word "suzerainty" but not the control of foreign relations, extended the boundaries of the Transvaal, and recognised it by the name preferred by the Boers—the South African Republic.

AUSTRALIA.—In 1851 occurred the first gold discoveries in Australia, and for some years there were

[1] The Zulu War began in January 1879 with a reverse at Isandhlwana: it was practically concluded by the victory of Ulundi in July.

frequent rushes to new diggings. The Port Phillip district became the colony of Victoria in 1851; and, as it had the larger gold-fields, its population soon exceeded that of New South Wales.

Before the Australian colonies received self-government (1855-6), the transportation of convicts was abandoned in 1852. The backward and thinly populated colony of Western Australia was an exception: in its case transportation went on till 1868, and responsible government was not granted till 1890.

In 1859 another new colony was carved out of New South Wales, the district of Moreton Bay to the north becoming the nucleus of Queensland, which was quickly explored and occupied by sheep-farmers. Gold discoveries followed in the "Seventies," and a sugar industry grew up in the tropical north. Queensland enjoyed self-government from the first.

The government of South Australia distinguished itself by the construction of a telegraph line of about 2000 miles across the continent from south to north in 1870-2. But New South Wales and Victoria continued to be the competitors for the foremost place in Australia, and their rivalry centred in the great seaports and capitals, Sydney and Melbourne. The two colonies adopted different economic policies, New South Wales adhering to Free Trade, while Victoria was Protectionist. As the output of the gold-fields diminished, New South Wales, which is better supplied with coal, again overtook Victoria in trade and population.

New Zealand.—The systematic colonisation advocated by Gibbon Wakefield [1] had its fairest trial in the settlement of New Zealand, though even there it met with difficulties. A company was formed and colonists were sent out, who founded Wellington in 1840. The influence of the missionaries and friends of the natives

[1] See p. 284.

was still strong with the British Government, and for some years the company was regarded with suspicion and hampered in its work. The Governor fixed his headquarters at Auckland in the far north; and the company's purchases of land were strictly investigated and greatly cut down.

The Whig ministry of 1846-52 (when Lord John Russell was Prime Minister, and Earl Grey Colonial Secretary) was more friendly; and it was through a loan from the Government that the company was able, before it came to an end, to found the colonies of Otago and Canterbury in the South Island. The former was the work of the Free Church of Scotland, which had separated from the Established Church in 1843: its capital was called Dunedin, the Gaelic name for Edinburgh. Canterbury (capital, Christchurch) had a similar connection with the Church of England.

The New Zealanders in the North Island had two wars with the Maoris, an intelligent and warlike people. In the first (1845-7), one of the greatest of colonial governors, Sir George Grey, had a free hand, and he put a speedy end to the war. On the outbreak of the second war, he was sent back to New Zealand in 1861, as he had great influence with the natives. But by this time responsible government had been established, and there was so much discord between the ministers, the general, the governor, the War Office, and the Colonial Office, that the war lingered on till 1870. Before that date Grey had ceased to be Governor, and the British troops had been withdrawn.

During the "Seventies" there was a period of very rapid development by means of railway construction and other public works. But a reaction followed, and in 1884 New Zealand was suffering from severe depression, and government expenditure was cut down as low as possible.

INDIA.—In India the boundaries of British rule

continued to be extended, in spite of the efforts of the East India Company and of the Government to avoid expense and to limit their responsibilities. The north-west was the region of greatest danger. Russia had made a considerable advance in Southern Asia at the expense of Turkey and Persia, 1828-33. In 1837 the Persians, encouraged and assisted by the Russians, attacked Herat, the capital of western Afghanistan, while a Russian envoy was received at Kabul, the eastern capital. Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary of the day, was suspicious of Russia and a steady opponent of her aggressive policy, as he showed again at the time of the Crimean War. As the Amir of Kabul would not accept a British alliance, a force was sent to establish in his place a former Amir who had been driven out. The British remained at Kabul from 1839 to 1841, but in January 1842 the remaining troops were massacred, after a painful display of incapacity by their commanders. Later in the year several successes were gained, Kabul was retaken, and the surviving prisoners of the first expedition were recovered. The country was then given back to the ruler whom we had attacked. Sind, the lower valley of the Indus, was annexed in 1843, because of the alleged unfriendliness of its chiefs at the time of the disasters in Afghanistan.

The greatest of the Governors-General of India after Warren Hastings was Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856). He acted upon the principle that it was best for all concerned that Britain should assume direct responsibility for maintaining order and providing good government, wherever a fair opportunity offered. He thought that it was a bad plan that we should have to protect native rulers who oppressed their subjects. Thus, after many warnings, the King of Oudh was deposed for persistent misgovernment; and Lower Burma, the delta of the Irrawaddy River, was annexed after a war in 1852, caused by the harsh treatment of British traders and the refusal of any

redress. After two wars with the Sikhs, the Punjab was annexed in 1849.

Other rulers, over whom the British Government had rights as overlord, were not allowed to pass on the government of their states to adopted heirs. If they had no heirs of their own, the country " lapsed " to the British Government, which had taken the place of the former overlords, the old Mogul Emperor or the chief of the Maratha confederacy.

The beginnings of railways and telegraphs in India date from Dalhousie's time, and many social as well as material improvements were introduced—cheap postage, increased expenditure on education, the suppression of barbarous customs, and the construction of canals and roads.

In 1857 occurred the famous " Indian Mutiny," which is sometimes called in India " the War of Indian Independence." The rising was caused by reaction against the extension of direct British rule and the rapid introduction of European ideas and inventions. The native troops outnumbered the European by 5 to 1, and their minds were unsettled by an order which required soldiers enlisted in the future to undertake " general service " even across the sea, of which they had a superstitious horror.

On the introduction of the Enfield rifle, cartridges were prepared which were said to be greased with the fat of the cow (which is sacred to the Hindus) and of the pig (which is considered unclean by the Mohammedans). This roused to a flame the many smouldering discontents of the sepoys of northern India, and agitators did all they could to create a panic by spreading a report that an attack was being made on their religion.

The Mutiny began in earnest at Meerut in the beginning of May ; and after a night of plundering there the troops went off to Delhi, where they were joined by many

thousands from other garrisons. The few European occupants of the great towns of Cawnpore and Lucknow were besieged by overwhelming Indian forces.

At Cawnpore the British residents were induced by a promise of a safe-conduct to leave their feeble fortification, and were then treacherously massacred (June-July). At Lucknow they held out till reinforced by General Havelock in September. As they were not then strong enough to carry off the women and children in safety, the siege was renewed, and went on till the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell in November. Before this, the great stronghold of the mutineers, the old Mogul capital, Delhi, had been taken, chiefly by the aid of troops from the Punjab, where the British were splendidly led by John Lawrence and John Nicholson, and the Sikhs remained loyal. By the middle of 1858 Oudh was pacified by Campbell, and the country south of the Jumna by Sir Hugh Rose.

In 1858 the government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The Proclamation which announced this change, declared it to be the will of the Queen " that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances ; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law. . . . And . . . that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

In 1877 the Queen took the title " Empress of India," and the responsibility of Britain for the good government of the whole of India was fully recognised, although many parts remained under independent native princes. Since the Mutiny, native chiefs have been freely allowed to adopt heirs, and their lands have not been liable to " lapse " to the Crown.

After the Mutiny it became necessary to take pre-

cautions for preserving the Government against those "plots which are among the honourable dangers of civilisation in India." Much money had to be spent on railways: these were useful not only for the conveyance of troops, but also for bringing food quickly from one part to another in times of famine, to which India from its peculiar climate is subject whenever "the rainy season" is not sufficiently rainy. Further, the Government constructed a number of canals, which irrigated large tracts of country and made it possible to obtain rich and certain crops from land which before provided only a scanty and precarious livelihood.

Perils had also to be guarded against beyond India. Russia rapidly pushed its frontiers across Asia. The famous Tartar chieftainships of Bokhara and Khiva were swallowed up in 1868 and 1873, and the rapid approach of Russian power to the frontier of Afghanistan was watched with uneasiness by the British statesmen responsible for the security of India.

The Amir's reception of a Russian mission sent in breach of Russian promises, and his refusal to receive a British mission, led to another expedition to Afghanistan in 1878-9. In September 1878 a British envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was murdered at Kabul; but in the end a new Amir was established, with whom the British managed to keep on friendly terms. Certain districts were taken over which were considered necessary for the protection of the Indian frontier.

From March to May 1885 the Russian advance towards the frontier of Afghanistan again caused serious danger of war: in the end the Afghans agreed to leave to the Russians the disputed post of Penjdeh. But the Amir was supplied with British guns and money, and arrangements were made for carefully marking out the boundary between his territory and that of Russia.

The chief source of revenue for Indian Governments

has always been the rent paid by landholders. Very careful surveys were carried out by the British in each province with the object of finding out how much rent should be paid and by whom it should be paid. A generous settlement of this rent or tax, and a determination of disputes as to the ownership and boundaries of land, are among the greatest boons conferred by the British Government upon its Indian subjects. Peace has been maintained and justice fairly administered ; above all, the Government is ever seeking to improve its own methods and the condition of the people.

A systematic plan for the promotion of education in India was laid down in 1854, but progress was slow on account of the small amount of money available, the scarcity of capable teachers, and the apathy of the people. In criticising what was left undone, it must be remembered that the ability of a Government to confer benefits on its subjects is limited by the amount of revenue it can raise by taxing them.

The British Government has had direct responsibility only since 1858. Within a quarter of a century from that date an attempt was being made to encourage the political education of the people in self-government by entrusting various duties to local boards.

WEST INDIES.—The planters of the West Indies, who had suffered when their workpeople, the slaves, were set free, were still further injured when Britain adopted Free Trade, and admitted cheap slave-grown sugar from abroad on the same terms as West Indian sugar produced by free labour. Some compensation for the loss of the African supply of labour was made after 1842, when coolies began to be brought from the East Indies under regulations which provided for their good treatment.

NORTH AFRICA.—While Russia and Austria were rivals for influence in the European possessions of the decaying Turkish Empire, France and Britain had

acquired interests in the parts of North Africa of which the Turk had been overlord. In 1881 France occupied Tunis. Bismarck encouraged this step, as it involved the locking up of French troops in Africa, and aroused the jealousy of Italy. The latter effect was illustrated in the next year, when Italy joined Germany and Austria in "the Triple Alliance," which was the greatest factor in European politics for a generation to come.

In the interests of European creditors, Britain and France had, since 1877, been attempting, by a "Dual Control," to introduce some measure of order and economy into the administration of Egypt, which was practically bankrupt through the folly and extravagance of the Khedive, Ismail, who was deposed in favour of his son, Tewfik, in 1879. In 1882 the army was stirred up by the war minister, Arabi, against the Government and against European influences. France, fearing to play into Bismarck's hands a second time, refused to help in restoring order, but Britain intervened to put down disturbances and to save the European population and the Suez Canal. Arabi was crushed by General Sir Garnet Wolseley at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir on 13th September 1882; and British officials then undertook the reform of the government and the re-establishment of the prosperity of the country. The Sultan of Turkey continued till 1914 to be the nominal overlord of the Egyptian Government.

West Africa.—The Empire in West Africa was extended by the annexation in 1861 of the island of Lagos, a great centre of the slave trade, which Britain was trying to suppress; and by the cession to Britain of the Danish and also of the Dutch trading posts on the Gold Coast in 1850 and 1871 respectively. At the end of the period, a trading company was laying the foundation of Britain's claims in what is now the large and prosperous colony of Nigeria.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—Pioneer work was also done by British missionaries, traders, and explorers in Central Africa. Sir Richard Burton and John Speke discovered Lake Tanganyika in 1858. Speke proved in 1862 that Lake Victoria (discovered by him in 1858) was the source of the Nile. Lake Albert was discovered by Sir Samuel Baker in 1864. Farther south, David Livingstone discovered Lake Nyasa in 1859 and Lake Bangweolo in 1868. Henry Morton Stanley made his first great African journey in 1871-2 to find Livingstone, which he did near Lake Tanganyika. In 1874-7 Stanley traced the Congo to its mouth, crossing the continent from east to west. From 1879 to 1884 he was engaged in founding the Congo State for an International Association under the headship of the King of the Belgians.

A new period begins with the raising of the German flag in South-West Africa in 1883, and the holding of a Conference at Berlin in 1884-5 to arrange for the division of Africa among European Powers.

VIII. MODERN PROBLEMS AND IDEALS

61. IRELAND AND IMPERIALISM, 1884-1901

GENERAL GORDON AND THE SUDAN.—In the early "Eighties" serious difficulties arose in the "Sudan," or southern land, which had been conquered by Egypt in 1819. The Sudan had had two British Governors since 1869, first the explorer, Sir Samuel Baker, and, second, General Charles Gordon. After Gordon's departure, the country was overrun by the followers of a Mohammedan fanatic, the Mahdi, and in January 1884, Gordon was sent by the British Government to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons, as all the resources

available were required for the regeneration of Egypt itself. But at Cairo the Khedive appointed him Governor-General of the Sudan, and Gordon seems to have resolved to hold on instead of abandoning the Sudan. He asked for the aid of an old enemy, an Arab slave-trader of great influence—a strong man, in whose hands he might leave the province, and so avert the impression of deserting his former subjects ; the British Cabinet refused his request, and Gordon was left to do what he could with untrained and untrustworthy Egyptian troops. He was shut up in Khartum ; and it took a long time to convince Gladstone of the necessity of rescuing him, and to settle the route of the relief expedition.

General Wolseley did not leave England till September : the Mahdi himself undertook the siege of Khartum in October. The expedition met with serious difficulties in forcing its way up the Nile, and it arrived in sight of Khartum on 28th January 1885—two days too late. On the 26th Khartum had been captured and Gordon slain. After some hesitation the Government (which was confronted by a possibility of war with Russia as the result of the latter's encroachments on Afghanistan [1]), decided in April to carry out its original intention and abandon the Sudan. It was during these troubles in 1884 and 1885 that Germany found her opportunity to establish colonies in Africa and the Pacific.

First Home Rule Bill defeated.—The General Election at the end of 1885 [2] gave the Liberals exactly half the seats in the House ; in order to have a working majority it would be necessary for them to have the support of the 86 Irish Nationalists.

Gladstone came into office with the intention of introducing a measure of self-government for Ireland. Many Liberals refused to support him, including the veteran reformer, John Bright ; the leader of the moderate

[1] See p. 327. [2] See p. 317.

Liberals, Lord Hartington; and the financier, George Goschen. The Radical leader, Chamberlain, at first accepted office, as President of the Local Government Board, but he resigned a few weeks later, when the terms of the bill were settled.

The first Home Rule Bill excluded Irish members from sitting in the British Parliament: such matters as defence and foreign trade were not to be dealt with by the Irish Parliament. Lord Randolph Churchill declared, "Ulster will not be a consenting party . . . Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right." The Liberals who opposed the bill in the fear that it would lead to separation, formed themselves into the Liberal Unionist party. On 8th June 1886, 93 of them voted against the second reading of the bill, which was lost by 30 votes. Gladstone at once appealed to the country. Except in Catholic Ireland, the Unionists gained ground everywhere, and returned with a majority of 114, including 76 Liberal Unionists.

FURTHER REFORMS.—To put a limit to obstructive discussion in Parliament, what is known as "closure by guillotine" was introduced. This means that a resolution is passed that on a certain date the Committee stage will be brought to an end, and remaining clauses put to the vote without further debate.

From March 1887 to October 1891 Irish affairs were in the hands of Mr A. J. Balfour, who maintained better order, relieved distress, and in 1891 passed an Act enabling tenants to become owners of their holdings by paying 4 per cent. interest for forty-nine years on a loan advanced by the Government.

In 1888 County Councils were established for local government in England and Wales,[1] and London was made a separate county, to be administered by the

[1] The machinery of local self-government was extended in 1894 to rural districts by a Local Government Act which created Parish

London County Council. Previous to this the Greater London area outside the old limits of the City corporation had remained under parish vestries: in 1855 a single authority had been created to supervise their undertakings —the Metropolitan Board of Works.

The Act of 1889, which introduced County Councils in Scotland, also made provision for free elementary education; the English grant was increased in 1891 so that education should be free for children up to the age of fourteen. Since 1890 the Government grant has been based on attendance and not on success in examinations. Evening continuation classes were introduced under the Education Code of 1890.

DOCK STRIKE OF 1889.—From 14th August to 15th September 1889 occurred a famous strike of the London dock-labourers. "The men, working at the most casual kind of casual labour, attending daily at the dock gates, getting perhaps an hour's work one day, and no work for three days, and then two or three hours again, had struck on a demand that hiring of labour should not be for less than four hours at a time, and that there should be a uniform rate of pay of sixpence an hour." [1] The men, who were led by Mr John Burns and Mr Ben Tillett, found public opinion strongly in their favour, and their conduct did nothing to alienate it. The dock directors had to give way in the end, and the dockers took measures to preserve the fruits of their victory by forming a strong Union under the leadership of Mr Tom Mann.

WILLIAM II, GERMAN EMPEROR.—The first German Emperor [2] died in March 1888, and his son, Frederick,

Councils in all villages with over 300 inhabitants, and gave them power in matters of sanitation and highways.

In 1898 County Councils and District Councils were established for Ireland.

[1] R. H. Gretton, *A Modern History of the English People*, i., p. 252.

[2] See p. 309.

who had married the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria, died in June. William II then succeeded. He was a self-willed young man of twenty-nine. In less than two years he succeeded in getting rid of the great Chancellor, Prince Otto von Bismarck, and establishing his own undisputed ascendancy in the State. In the same year, 1890, he abandoned a secret understanding with Russia, which had been a main element in Bismarck's policy.

In 1890 Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany as part of a bargain about colonial boundaries in Africa. Germany hastened on the construction of the Kiel Canal, which had been begun in 1887, and was opened in 1895. By that time Russia was the ally of France. Britain was isolated, and seemed to have more to fear from the Dual Alliance of France and Russia than from the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy.

HOME RULE BILL, 1893, REJECTED.—In October 1891 the Liberal party adopted a Radical policy—"The Newcastle Programme"—which included the disestablishment of the Church, local veto,[1] the abolition of plural voting,[2] and the fixing of a limit for the hours of labour. At the General Election in 1892, the Liberals and Irish Nationalists together won forty seats more than the Unionists.

The Home Rule Bill of 1893 proposed to admit Irish representatives to the Imperial Parliament, but with a vote only on matters which concerned Ireland: in Committee the limitation was dropped, and the Irish members were given a vote on all subjects in the Imperial Parliament. The bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of 34, but defeated in the Lords on 8th September by 419 to 41.

Gladstone resigned in 1894 at the age of 84. He was

[1] Empowering each district to say whether alcoholic liquors were to be sold or not within its bounds.

[2] "One man one vote": no man to vote in more than one constituency, although he had the necessary qualification in several.

described by Lord Salisbury as " a great Christian statesman." He rose to the first rank among statesmen as a master of public finance, in which he stood for economy and the reduction of taxation. He will be remembered also for his advocacy of justice and freedom in Italy, in the Balkans, and, most of all, in Ireland. He concentrated such energy on these objects that he was apt to lose command of other important questions, and to this may be attributed the delay in sending an expedition to relieve Gordon, and the comparative neglect of social reforms of increasing urgency. He was an exceedingly attractive speaker, with a useful talent for mystifying people when giving an ostensible explanation. In spite of his limitations, he was worthy of the enthusiastic devotion paid by his supporters to " the Grand Old Man."

DISPUTE WITH THE UNITED STATES.—At the end of 1895 our peaceful relations with the United States were endangered by an arrogant message from President Cleveland asserting the right of his Government to force Britain to accept the award of a commission to be appointed by him to determine a boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezula. Peace was preserved, however; and in the end an arbitration tribunal declared almost wholly in favour of the British claims.

THE JAMESON RAID.—About the end of 1895, a startling incident occurred in South Africa — " the Jameson Raid." Cecil Rhodes,[1] who had founded a company to develop the country north of the Transvaal, in 1890 became also Prime Minister of the Cape, and took up the work of Sir George Grey and Lord Carnarvon in attempting to bring about the federation of South Africa

[1] Cecil Rhodes, on his death in 1902, left funds to provide a revenue of over £50,000 a year for scholarships at Oxford University for 170 young men from the British colonies, the United States, and Germany—to knit together the great Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic nations.

under the British flag. But, although he was on friendly terms with the Boers as a whole, he found it impossible to get fair play for British interests from President Kruger of the South African Republic, and he supported a proposal of the British people in Johannesburg to rise against the Boer Government. The plan was abandoned, but an officer of the company, Dr Leander Starr Jameson, invaded the Republic with only 500 men in the last days of 1895, and was forced to surrender on 2nd January 1896. The episode did much to foment ill-feeling between Briton and Boer, and to prevent a peaceful settlement of their disputes. A committee of the House of Commons inquired into the circumstances in 1896-7, and reported that there was no evidence that the Colonial Office had any knowledge of the raid beforehand.

The German Emperor sent a telegram to President Kruger congratulating him on dealing with the raid successfully without foreign help. It was suspected that Germany was encouraging the Transvaal to oppose the British in South Africa, with a view to the ultimate extension of German influence there.

RECONQUEST OF THE SUDAN.—During the years 1896 to 1898 a steady advance for the reconquest of the Sudan was made by British and Egyptian forces under Sir Herbert Kitchener. At the decisive victory of Omdurman, the British and Egyptians lost less than 400 men, killed and wounded, out of a force of 22,000. The Dervishes had over 40,000 men: a quarter were killed, and more than a quarter wounded. The figures proved two things—the deadly efficiency of machine guns and the reckless bravery of the Dervishes. The capture of Khartum in September 1898 marked the successful end of the expedition; but almost at the same time a small French party from the Congo reached the Nile a little higher up the river and raised the French flag at Fashoda. The French, under Major Marchand, would have been in

a very perilous position but for Kitchener's victory: but France was disposed to assert a right to the Upper Nile on account of their presence there. The British Government was resolute, and the French gave way with a bad grace. The joint rule of Britain and Egypt over the Sudan was established in January 1899.

BOER WAR.—In 1899, on the ivitation of the Czar of Russia, an International Peace Conference met at The Hague, and a permanent Court of Arbitration was established there, to which a number of Powers undertook to refer disputes not involving national honour or independence.[1] Britain, however, closed the century with a serious war in South Africa (October 1899 to May 1902) which resulted in the annexation of the two Boer Republics.[2]

"The war election" of October 1900 gave the Unionists a majority of 134.

Queen Victoria died at Osborne in January 1901, after a reign of nearly sixty-four years. In spite of the advance of democratic thought in Europe, she had made monarchy in England respectable and respected, as it had not been under her predecessors.

62. DEMOCRACY AND THE POWER OF ORGANISED LABOUR, 1901-14

EDUCATION ACT, 1902.—The coronation of Edward VII was fixed for 26th June 1902, but on the very eve of the ceremony the king was found to be suffering from appendicitis. An operation was successfully performed, and the coronation took place on 9th August. In the

[1] A second Hague Conference in 1907, attended by representatives of forty-seven states, laid down some rules for humane conduct in war, but could do nothing to check the growth of armaments or to *prevent* war.

[1] See p. 349.

meantime Lord Salisbury had resigned—after the end of the Boer War ; and his nephew, Mr Arthur Balfour, had become Prime Minister.

In 1899 the Board of Education was established to control elementary and secondary education. By the Education Act of 1902 the School Boards of England and Wales were abolished and the control of education locally was transferred to committees of the Town and County Councils. The Nonconformists bitterly resented a provision of the Education Act of 1902, by which voluntary (chiefly Anglican) schools received aid from local rates without coming completely under the control of the local public authority.

Tariff Reform.—The Cabinet was broken up in 1903, when Joseph Chamberlain brought forward a plan for drawing the colonies closer to the Home Country by admitting the produce of British lands at a lower rate than foreign goods—the policy of " Imperial Preference." The scheme was opposed by many Unionists as well as Liberals, on the grounds that such regulation of commerce was inconsistent with Free Trade, and that it would increase the price of food in Britain. It was replied that a duty on foreign manufacturers would encourage British industry, and that there would be more work and better wages, so that the people would be able to pay a little more for certain articles. This argument was seized upon by the opponents of the scheme : the idea of drawing the Empire closer together fell into the background, and the issue was generally regarded, from a purely domestic point of view, as one between Free Trade and Protection. Both the Duke of Devonshire, the leader of the Free Trade Unionists, and Chamberlain, the leader of the Tariff Reformers, resigned, as did several other members of the Cabinet. Mr Balfour had great difficulty in keeping the party from falling to pieces : the Government became weaker and weaker, and in 1905 it resigned.

At the Election in January 1906, the disunited Unionist party was completely routed.

TRADE UNIONS AND LABOUR REPRESENTATION.—Following the great London Dock Strike of August-September 1889, a considerable stimulus had been given to trade unions ; and, as unions were formed in the less skilled and worse-paid trades, the politics of trade unionism, as represented in its annual Congresses, became more socialistic—demanding more and more at the hands of the State. (The Labour Department of the Board of Trade was established in 1893.) But before the end of the century the unions lost ground again, and in 1899 their members included only 21 per cent. of the working men and 12 per cent. of the working women in the country.

Workmen's Compensation Acts were passed in 1897 and 1900 which gave workmen or their representatives the right to claim from their employers compensation for injuries or death accidentally caused in the course of their employment.

After a dispute on the Taff Vale Railway, the directors obtained damages against the men's trade union for unlawful picketing (1900). Working men were dissatisfied with what they could accomplish by means of strikes and through trade unions in the existing state of the law. It seemed to be necessary to reform the law, and for this purpose to be directly represented in Parliament by men of their own class who fully understood their needs. The Labour Party was formed in 1900, and at the election in January 1906 forty Labour members were returned.

The Labour supporters of the Government were early gratified by the passing of the Trade Disputes Act to protect the funds of trade unions from being made liable for damage done in the course of a dispute, as they had been in the recent " Taff Vale Judgement."

REFORMS ADOPTED.—(1) In 1906-7 powers were given

to local authorities to arrange for the feeding and medical inspection of children in elementary schools.

(2) By the Army Act of 1907 the old Volunteers and Militia were replaced by the Territorial Force.

(3) Old Age Pensions were established in 1908 for British subjects of over seventy years of age. The pension applied only to those whose income was less than 12s. a week: it was arranged so as not to raise their income much above 13s. a week; and in no case was the pension itself to exceed 5s. In 1911-12 about £11,750,000 was paid in pensions under the Act to over 900,000 persons.

REFORMS REJECTED.—An attempt was made to carry an Education Bill, but agreement on the question was found impossible even in the Commons. When the Lords rejected a Licensing Bill which aimed at the gradual but compulsory reduction of the number of public houses and shops licensed to sell alcoholic liquors, the Government prepared a popular measure for the following year as the ground on which to fight the conservatism of the Peers.

Mr Lloyd George's Budget of 1909 provided for a large increase in the fees to be paid for licences: the duties on spirits and tobacco were increased; motor-cars and petrol were taxed; higher rates of income tax had to be paid by the wealthy classes; and a new tax was imposed on undeveloped land and on the "unearned increment" of land—that is, on additions to its value due to circumstances other than the action of the owner in making improvements. The Budget was a direct challenge to the House of Lords. The Lords accepted the challenge, and rejected the Budget.

The Government thereupon appealed to the people. The Liberals were returned to power in January 1910 with a large, though a diminished, majority. The Budget was carried, and ministers then began to form a definite plan for reducing the power of the House of Lords.

Before matters were settled, Edward VII died on 6th

May 1910, and was succeeded by his son, George V. Edward VII had used his personal influence to promote friendly relations with European countries, especially the "Entente Cordiale" with France, later the "Triple Entente," including Russia.[1] He thus won the title of "Edward the Peacemaker"; but the friendship of Germany was less easy to secure, and what was gained was not peace but a partnership in one of the rival camps of Europe. These were again days of "peace without rest and war without hostilities." [2]

PARLIAMENT ACT OF 1911.—In order to convince the Lords beyond all doubt that the feeling of the country demanded the surrender of their absolute veto on bills passed by the Commons, the Government submitted the matter to another General Election in December 1910, and came back with their strength unimpaired.

After carrying, by 282 votes to 68, a resolution censuring the Government for advising the king to create a sufficient number of Peers to ensure the passage of the bill, the House of Lords allowed the measure to become law, by a majority of 131 to 114. (1) The Act provided that, if a bill, after being twice passed by the Commons and twice rejected by the Lords, should again be passed by the Commons in a third successive session two years after the first attempt, it should become law without regard to the opinion of the other House. The veto of the House of Lords could thus do no more than suspend a measure for two years, in the event of the Commons being of the same opinion still at the end of that time. (2) Money bills were taken altogether out of the power of the House of Lords; the Speaker was given power to decide whether any measure was or was not purely a money bill. (3) The Act also reduced the maximum duration of a Parliament from seven to five years, so that the House of Commons was to be kept more closely

[1] See pp. 356-7. [2] See p. 213.

in touch with the people. Nothing, however, was done to alter the membership of the House of Lords so as to make it more representative or more efficient.

THE OSBORNE JUDGEMENT.—By a legal decision in 1909, known as the "Osborne Judgement," it was determined that trade unions had no power to levy contributions from their members for the purpose of returning representatives to Parliament. Being thwarted in this constitutional method of attaining their ends, the workers turned again to their old weapon, the strike; and they sought to make this more effective by forming large national amalgamations which should act together. In the summer of 1911 there was a great railway strike, and in the spring of 1912 a coal strike and a strike of transport-workers. Government had to intervene to arrange terms of peace in the first two cases. In the case of the coal dispute it was enacted that in each district a joint board with a neutral chairman should be set up to fix a "minimum wage."

NATIONAL INSURANCE.—In December 1911 Mr Lloyd George carried his scheme of compulsory insurance for workers earning less than £160 a year. (*a*) *Health Insurance*.—The cost is shared between the employee, the employer, and the State. Contributions were to be made weekly in the form of stamps, and in case of illness the worker reaped the benefit in an allowance of 7s. 6d. to 10s., which might continue for twenty-six weeks. (*b*) *Unemployment Insurance*.—Employees in certain trades in which work is irregular and uncertain owing to seasonal and other causes — such as the building trade—were similarly insured against being thrown out of work: in this case benefits might be paid for fifteen weeks in a year. The compulsory payments made the measure unpopular at first, and the doctors also had grievances which had to be redressed by an amending Act. In 1913, 13,000,000 persons were insured under

the Health section of the Act, and 2,500,000 under the Unemployment section.

By a Budget resolution in 1911, provision was made for the payment of a salary of £400 to all members of the House of Commons. This was a step towards allowing all classes to be directly represented in Parliament—another move in the direction of democracy.

PLURAL VOTING BILL AND WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT.—Under the Parliament Act the House of Lords could do nothing to hinder a bill passed by the Commons in three successive sessions from becoming law. The Government sought to take advantage of this by carrying three bills of first-rate importance in a long session which dragged on from February 1912 till March 1913. If the elements of the coalition—Liberals, Labour, and Irish Nationalists—held together, these bills could again be carried without difficulty in 1913, and the final struggle would take place in 1914.

(1) A bill to do away with plural voting and to improve the registration of voters was withdrawn after an attempt had been made to alter its character by introducing a provision for giving votes to women. The Plural Voting Bill thus lost a session, and fell behind the other two measures. A bill, however, was passed in 1913 and 1914, and twice rejected by the Lords.

(2) The bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales passed the Commons a third time in 1914, but its operation was suspended by the outbreak of war.

HOME RULE.—(3) More important than either of these was the revival of Home Rule. Since the rejection of Gladstone's measure in 1893, much had been done to improve the condition of the small farmers in Ireland. A Department of Agriculture was established in 1899, but even more was accomplished by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, founded in 1894, which introduced methods of co-operation, and taught its members the way

to " better farming, better business, and better living." The Land Purchase Act of 1903 was a scheme for enabling all the agricultural tenants of Ireland to purchase their holdings with the help of loans and grants from the State. But Irish Nationalist politicians would not allow economic benefits to divert them from seeking the power to deal with the troubles of their country themselves under a completely altered system of government. A large measure of local self-government was offered in the Irish Councils Act of 1907, but this was rejected by the Nationalists, who demanded another Home Rule Bill.

The Government of Ireland Bill (1912-14) provided for the establishment of an Irish Parliament of two Houses, with powers over all matters except a few reserved subjects. But the Lord-Lieutenant was to have a veto on its bills, and in the Imperial Parliament, which remained supreme over Ireland as well as Great Britain, Ireland was to have only 42 members, although in proportion to its population it should have had 60. The bill aroused much opposition in the north-eastern counties of Ulster, where there is a Protestant majority, and the leaders of the movement did not hesitate to threaten armed resistance. Volunteers were enrolled in Ulster to oppose the measure, and in the rest of Ireland to support it. Arms and ammunition were obtained by both parties from overseas. On 25th May 1914 the bill was carried in the House of Commons for a third time by a majority of 77, but the Government also introduced an amending bill, offering to allow a referendum to be taken in each county on the question whether it would remain outside the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament for a period of six years. This was not regarded as satisfactory either by the extreme Nationalists or by the Ulster Protestants, who were in a clear majority in only four counties, but no more generally acceptable solution of the difficulty could be discovered. The situation was critical at the end of July 1914; a conference

summoned by the king met at Buckingham Palace, but failed to arrive at a solution. On the 26th July, after the landing of rifles for the National Volunteers at Howth, near Dublin, there was a conflict between the troops and the people, and three of the latter were killed. Civil war was not by any means impossible, and the hope and expectation that Britain would thus be crippled was not without influence on the action then taken by the Central European Powers. In September Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment were placed on the Statute Book, along with an Act suspending their operation during the war.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—An agitation for securing to women the right to vote at Parliamentary elections was conducted with much vehemence from 1906 to 1914. Women had come to take a much greater part in the economic and public life of the country; and a demand for a share in political privileges and obligations seemed to follow as naturally as it did in the case of the squires of the seventeenth century, the middle class before 1832, and the "workers" since that date. The proposal met with objections on many grounds, but it probably received its greatest check from the ill-advised methods of its more impatient adherents, the "Suffragettes," who endeavoured to advertise their cause by breaking windows, destroying postal packages in letter-boxes, interrupting church services, and burning empty buildings.

Meanwhile men and women were co-operating and competing in many spheres of activity on more and more nearly equal terms. Women not only earned distinction in the universities, and in literature, science, and medicine, but also gained most valuable experience on the boards created for local government within the last generation, and on the committees of various working-class organisations. Women were thus qualified to take the place of men in most forms of business when the Great War summoned the latter to military employment.

63. THE BRITISH NATIONS OVERSEAS AND THE WORK OF THE EMPIRE, 1884-1914

British and German Imperialism.—Interest in the Britains overseas was fostered in the days of the Manchester school by the Royal Colonial Institute, which was founded in 1868, and has ever since been the meeting-ground of men of all parties who believe in the Empire or wish to understand it better. From the time of the formation of the International Association for opening up the Congo country explored by Stanley, interest in colonial development was reawakened. In Britain an inspiring note was struck by Sir John Seeley's book, *The Expansion of England*, 1883; and the Imperial Federation League was founded in 1884 to work for the closer co-operation of the British peoples. An Emigrants' Information Office was opened by the British Government in 1886. The Queen's Jubilee in 1887 was celebrated by the founding of the Imperial Institute for promoting a more scientific knowledge of the resources of the Empire.

Meanwhile in Germany a Colonial Society was founded in December 1882, and merchants put pressure upon the Government to inaugurate a policy of colonising. German missionaries and traders were established at several points in Africa, and German explorers also did a share of the pioneering work in the interior. A German trader acquired a large amount of territory north of the Orange River, and the protection of the German flag was given to him in 1884. Other German traders then rapidly and unostentatiously acquired rights in East Africa and on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea.

The Partition of Africa.—Britain was by this time on the alert, and preserved what she considered vital interests by taking possession of St Lucia Bay, north of Natal, the best remaining port for access to

the Transvaal from the sea, and by annexing part of Bechuanaland and establishing a protectorate over the remainder, so as to command the highway from the Cape to Central Africa. In the scramble for Africa, Britain also secured the lower basin of the Niger, and, a little later, British East Africa [1] and Uganda.

The main principles of "the partition of Africa" were sketched at a congress at Berlin in 1884-5, and boundaries were adjusted by a series of agreements in 1886-90, by which Germany, France, and Portugal respectively recognised British rights over Uganda, the Upper Nile, and Zanzibar; over Nigeria; and over Nyasaland and Rhodesia. In return for the German recognition of a British protectorate at Zanzibar, Heligoland was ceded to Germany in 1890.

THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC.—The best lands in the Temperate Zone had been occupied before Germany came into the field as a coloniser, and she had few emigrants in the years after 1871, when she was building up great industries at home. But her desire for tropical colonies was not limited to Africa. A general settlement of their claims in the Pacific was made by Britain, France, and Germany in 1885-6. In more recent times the mastery of the Pacific has been contested also by the United States and by Japan. The Americans have added to their strength by the cutting of the Panama Canal, and the exploitation of Porto Rico and Cuba. The Japanese have steadily increased their influence in China.

The competition which has gone on since 1884 opened the eyes of the British people to the value, and to the

[1] British East Africa (now Kenya Colony) was secured for this country by treaties made by H. M. Stanley on his last great African journey in 1887-9, when he rescued from the shores of Lake Albert, a German, Eduard Schnitzer, known as Emin Pasha, who had been employed by General Gordon in the southern Sudan.

dangers, of a great empire. Yet all difficulties with our European rivals were surmounted by a patient and not ungenerous diplomacy. Germany, unfortunately, seems to have interpreted our peaceful policy and our failure to consolidate the Empire as a proof of decadence.

IMPERIAL EVENTS.—The most remarkable events in Imperial history between 1884 and 1914, apart from those already referred to, were the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia, which came into being on 1st January 1901; of the Union of South Africa, which dates from 31st May 1910; and of the Imperial Conference,[1] which was given permanent form in 1907. Perhaps the Indian National Congress should be added, not because of its actual achievements, but because of what it stands for in the present and what it may lead to in the future.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.—The need of union in Australia was realised when Germany annexed part of New Guinea in 1884, and has been since emphasised by the rise of the naval power of Japan. There was a weak Federal Council in Australia from 1885, and conferences leading up to federation took place in 1890-1 and 1897-8.

New Zealand and Australia have been distinguished during the past fifty years by their experiments in democratic government, and in the regulation of industry and social conditions by the State. In New Zealand, for instance, the State owns railways and coal-mines; adult suffrage and local option on the sale of liquor date from 1893; special courts for settling disputes between employers and workmen have existed since 1895, and old age pensions since 1898. New Zealand owes much of its recent prosperity to the discovery of the process of freezing mutton, so that it can be delivered fresh in the markets of Europe.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—The achievement of union

[1] The first Conference had been held in 1887, the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

in South Africa is more remarkable. Troubles between British and Dutch came to a head in 1899, and were fought out in a war of thirty-two months' duration, in which the Boers showed excellent fighting qualities, but were outnumbered. War began in October 1899, but it was not very seriously regarded till the "Black Week," 11th to 16th December, when General Gatacre was ambushed at Stormberg and 600 of his men were captured, Lord Methuen was repulsed at Magersfontein with 1000 casualties, and Sir Redvers Buller defeated with similar loss at Colenso.

On 18th December it was announced that Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were being sent to South Africa. Buller met with two further checks at Spion Kop and at Vaalkrantz before he at last relieved Ladysmith on 28th February 1900. Meanwhile, Roberts and Kitchener had reached the Cape, and the British forces, with contingents from the colonies, had been raised to a quarter of a million men. On the day before the relief of Ladysmith—the nineteenth anniversary of Majuba [1]—a Boer general, Cronje, with over 4000 men, surrendered to Lord Roberts. Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State, was occupied in March, and Pretoria, in the Transvaal, in June; and in each case the occupation of the capital was followed by the formal annexation of the republic. Generals Botha and De Wet, however, maintained a long guerilla warfare, which did not end till the Peace of Vereeniging was signed on 31st May 1902.[2]

Four years after the end of the war, the new Liberal Government in England, under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, granted self-government to the two Boer colonies; and almost immediately a movement for closer union began throughout South Africa. A constitution

[1] See p. 321.

[2] The war cost Britain 20,000 lives and £200,000,000. More men were killed by disease than by gunfire.

was prepared at a Convention in 1908-9 and adopted by the four colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. On the eighth anniversary of the conclusion of peace, South Africa became a united and self-governing dominion—one of the partners of the British Empire. Its first Prime Minister, the Boer general, Louis Botha, was confronted with problems of the greatest difficulty in dealing with conflicts of class and of race. The Indians of Natal complained of ill-treatment by the whites, and the labourers of the Rand rose in revolt against the capitalists. The common task of South Africans in solving these problems and the great " native question " was already helping to reconcile Boers and Britons, when the revelation of German intrigues in August 1914 found the mass of the people loyal and united.

DOMINION OF CANADA.—The opening up of the west of Canada may be dated from the making of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the foundation of Vancouver as its Pacific terminus about 1885. Two other trans-continental lines have since been added, and there are several branch lines across the prairies from south to north. Much of the grain from the farther West can now be taken to Vancouver, and shipped to Europe by way of the Panama Canal: a railway has been built to convey more of it to Port Churchill on Hudson Bay, thus avoiding the tremendous congestion of traffic which passes at harvest time through Winnipeg and the ports at the western end of the Great Lakes (Port Arthur and Fort William).

In 1911 the Canadian people at a General Election declared very decisively against a commercial treaty with the United States, which, it was feared, would tend to draw them into closer relations with the States and to sever them from Britain. Canadian statesmen then sought to define their position as partners in the British

Empire, or at least to undertake a share of the duty of defence. The Conservatives, under Sir Robert Borden, proposed to make an immediate contribution of battleships to the Imperial Navy (as New Zealand was doing); the Liberals, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, wished to begin at once to build a national navy of their own (as Australia was doing). The Upper House, filled with Liberal nominees during the long rule of Sir Wilfrid Laurier,[1] barred the way against Conservative measures; and, till the Upper House should alter its character through Conservative appointments, there was no hope for the Navy Bill, which had to be abandoned and had not been reintroduced when war was declared in August 1914.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCES.—The spirit of nationalism is strong in the Dominions, and they are becoming alive to their responsibilities as nations; but a larger Imperial patriotism also exists. While each Dominion is loyal to the Empire, it wishes to make its own particular contribution in the way it finds best suited to its own circumstances. It may add most to their self-respect if each has a navy of its own; but the security of the whole Empire may be best provided for, if means can be devised of giving the Dominions a share in a *single control* of foreign policy and defence.

The Colonial Conferences of 1887, 1897, and 1902 were increasingly favourable to the idea of preferential trade within the Empire as a way to closer union. In 1907 and 1911 matters of common defence were recognised as more vital and urgent, owing to the menacing increase of the German North Sea Fleet and the growth of other navies. In 1907 provision was made for holding an "Imperial Conference" every four years, and for keeping the several governments in touch with each other in the intervals by means of a permanent secretarial staff.

[1] Senators are appointed for life by the Governor-General in Council—that is, really by the Prime Minister.

The Dominions were authorised to refer to the Committee of Imperial Defence for advice, and the creation of an Imperial General Staff to harmonise the military training and organisation of the several countries was recommended. The chief feature of the 1911 Conference was the admission of the Dominion Premiers to joint sittings with the Committee of Imperial Defence, at which the Foreign Secretary explained the international situation as it affected the partner-states of the British Empire.

Subordinate conferences were held to discuss co-operation in other matters, and the habit of "doing things together" fostered a more cordial understanding than was possible in the days before transport and communications had become swift and inexpensive.

PROGRESS IN INDIA.—India occupies an intermediate position between the partner-states of the Empire and the less civilised dependencies. It is as large as Europe without Russia, and its peoples differ from each other much more widely than do the peoples of Europe. Some of them—a small proportion of the whole—are fit to take a share in the government of the country, and the British Government has steadily increased the number of positions open to them. Since the time of Lord Ripon (1882), the people have had opportunities of training themselves for wider powers by work on representative institutions for local government. The educated Nationalists are impatient for a larger measure of self-government, and since 1885 an unofficial "National Congress" meets annually to discuss political grievances.

A period of "unrest" and agitation was introduced in 1905 by "the partition of Bengal," a rearrangement of provincial boundaries for administrative convenience. Severe measures had to be adopted to cope with the spreading of sedition among an ignorant people, and with the actual crimes to which such appeals led. But Lord Morley as Secretary of State, and Lord Minto as

Governor-General, proceeded also on the path of reform, and in 1909 increased the number of native representatives on the Legislative Councils of the Indian Empire and of the several provinces. King George and Queen Mary visited India in 1911, and the occasion was marked by the revocation of the partition of Bengal, and by the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Another outcome of the royal visit was the devotion of greater attention and larger sums of money to the education of the people: in 1912 the Government embarked on a scheme for doubling the number of schools at once. Agitation was less prominent after the Councils Act of 1909, and the Indian peoples showed themselves loyal at heart when the hour of trial came in 1914.

TREATIES WITH OTHER COLONISING POWERS.—Troublesome questions affecting British relations with France in North Africa and Newfoundland were settled in 1904, and a similarly comprehensive agreement with Russia about Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet was arrived at in 1907. In 1914 a settlement of other Imperial questions with Germany was almost completed.

THE EMPIRE.—Of every 100 inhabitants of the British Empire in 1914, 76 were in India, 11 in the United Kingdom, 9 in the Crown Colonies and dependencies, and 4 in the Dominions. The total population was about 420 millions—nearly a quarter of the population of the earth. Little over 60 millions were white men.

The Empire overseas consists of two parts—(1) the Dominions, occupied mainly by white men, who have the right of self-government; and (2) India, the Crown Colonies and other dependencies, where the task of Britain is to improve the lot of the natives and help to fit them for an increasing share in managing their own affairs in a decent and civilised way. The British have learned not to impose their own usages on the people of distant lands that come under their sway, but to try to understand their

ways and to develop what is good in them—to work towards the *ends* recognised by a higher civilisation, but not to insist on imposing our own *methods*.

The task of civilisation—that is, of enabling barbarous peoples to rise to a higher standard of life, and to make the most of the natural advantages of their country—has, since the extinction of the East India Company in 1858, been entrusted by Britain in several instances to Chartered Companies. The great colony of Nigeria was opened up by the Royal Niger Company; Uganda and British East Africa by the British East Africa Company; Rhodesia by the British South Africa Company. In 1923 Southern Rhodesia was granted self-government and the territory was annexed to His Majesty's Dominions. In 1924 Northern Rhodesia was also taken over by the Crown.

The people of the non-self-governing colonies owe much to Joseph Chamberlain, who promoted Schools of Tropical Medicine and instituted Scientific Departments of Agriculture, which improved their health and added to their wealth.

THE IMPERIAL IDEA: LIBERTY AND SERVICE.—The Empire is not based on race—on British descent; for even in the Dominions it contains a French majority in Quebec and a Dutch majority in parts of South Africa. The Dominions are united in common enjoyment of the free institutions and the high standards of life developed in the course of British history, and these are shared also with the less fortunate coloured races in an increasing measure as they become fitted to enjoy such freedom wisely. The Empire is held together by the will of its people to live under these institutions. "Liberty does not separate: it unites."

64. THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT WAR

GERMAN NAVY LAWS.—Germany realised at the time of the South African War that she could not effectively oppose Britain unless she had a very strong fleet. On land, too, the good understanding effected in 1896 between France, still mindful of her humiliation in 1870, and Russia, the patron of the Slav states in the south-east of Europe, made Germany uneasy, and was a motive for the steady increase of her army. Another motive with an influential class was the ambition of Germany to become the dominant Power throughout the world, an ambition which they justified by the boasted superiority of her intelligence, earnestness, and nobility of purpose.

The first of a series of German Navy Laws for the rapid construction of powerful battle fleets was passed in 1900 during the South African War. In 1904 Britain made an agreement with France settling a number of long-standing disputes in many parts of the world. Germany claimed that her commercial interests entitled her to be consulted about the arrangements made as to Morocco, and in 1905 (when Russia was at war with Japan) succeeded by threat of war in forcing the French Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, to resign.

The introduction of a new type of battleship, the *Dreadnought*, in 1906, so far antiquated earlier vessels that it gave naval Powers almost a fresh start in their rivalry and reduced the value of the advantage in numbers which Britain had secured and maintained. In the two years 1907-8 and 1908-9 the new Liberal Government in Britain attempted to induce the Germans to adopt a less aggressive policy, by building only five " capital ships " against Germany's seven. Germany replied by an increase of her own programme, building four ships a year from 1908-9 onwards. The British Liberals were forced to

realise that peace was not to be secured by mutual consent, and sought to obtain it by showing our capacity to increase our Navy to a greater extent and at a more rapid rate than the Germans. Eight " Dreadnoughts " were ordered in 1909-10.

RIVALRIES IN THE BALKANS.—In 1907 Britain settled outstanding questions in Central Asia with Russia ; but she had not yet returned to a strong defensive policy in the matter of armaments when a revolution in Turkey occurred in 1908. The new " constitutional " party in Turkey met with many difficulties, which gave an opportunity to Bulgaria to declare her complete independence, and to Austria-Hungary to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina.[1] Serbia and Russia were aggrieved at the extension of Austrian rule over the southern Slav peoples of the Balkan peninsula, of whom they claimed by right of " nationality " to be the natural rulers and protectors. But they were not ready to face a war with the Triple Alliance, and the Kaiser openly boasted that he stood by his ally, " in shining armour." Russia had to submit to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but prepared to avoid a similar defeat in the future.

THE " TRIPLE ENTENTE."—In August 1911 Europe was brought for the third time in little more than six years into grave danger of war. Germany's interests in Morocco were again being treated by France with scant respect, and she adopted a peremptory method of protest by despatching the gunboat *Panther* to Agadir on the coast of Morocco—a step which involved an obvious risk of war. Her object was generally taken to be the same as in 1904—to force France to give way and to show that her understanding with Britain was of no use to her in an emergency. The Germans took advantage of the fact that Britain was at the moment distracted by the great railway strike, and by the constitutional crisis in connec-

[1] See p. 313.

tion with the Parliament Bill [1]; but the British Government succeeded in effecting a compromise with the railwaymen which tided matters over at home and helped France to a creditable issue from her critical situation. Diplomatic negotiations left Morocco to France and gave Germany compensation on the Congo: France and Britain drew more closely together than before, and the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was balanced by the "Triple Entente" of Britain, France, and Russia. Just as France had a diplomatic reverse in 1904 to brood over (as well as the disaster of 1870), and Russia that of 1909, so Germany also had now a failure to avenge.

TURCO-ITALIAN AND BALKAN WARS.—The Turks were attacked and defeated first by Italy, which annexed Tripoli in 1911, and then by the Balkan States, which won much territory in the peninsula itself in 1912-13. Turkey was forced more than ever to rely on German support.

The international situation continued to be uneasy, for, while Turkey had now little foothold in Europe beyond the city of Constantinople itself, the division of the spoils of victory interested not only the smaller Balkan States, but also Austria and Russia, each of whom wished to control the southern Slavs, the former directly, the latter through Serbia. Some millions of southern Slavs (or "Yugo-Slavs"), akin to the Serbs, lived in the Austrian dominions. The whole "nation" could scarcely be united under the rule of either Austria or Serbia without a war.

Serbia had chosen as her share of the spoils an outlet to the Adriatic. Austria, however, refused to allow a port on the western shore of the peninsula to be at the command of a State which she regarded as Russia's client. Serbia was driven to look for compensation farther east, and

[1] See p. 341.

there she encountered the rival ambitions of Bulgaria. Austria encouraged Bulgaria to go to war with Serbia, and in a second Balkan War in 1913, Bulgaria was defeated and even Turkey regained some territory at her expense.

THE MIDDLE EAST.—Germany, besides her desire to stop Russia's progress westward, had sought since 1896 to penetrate eastward by controlling Turkey, developing the commerce of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and constructing a railway past Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. Russia's influence in the Balkans and Britain's concern for her communications with India threatened the success of this project, and Germany felt that their interests must inevitably clash violently in the near future. Russia's strength was growing rapidly, and advantage was being taken of all the lessons learned in the Japanese War; the British Dominions were beginning to provide ships or navies for Imperial defence; the German military authorities seem to have considered that it would be wise to fight sooner rather than later.

ARMAMENTS.—A great increase in the German Army was provided for in 1912 and 1913, and rapid progress was made in widening the Kiel Canal. France and Russia replied by lengthening the period of service in their armies, and Belgium introduced universal military service. Britain in 1913 proposed that each side should allow a year to pass without the construction of new ships —"a naval holiday"—but Germany again increased her estimates, and Britain kept pace in the proportion laid down in 1911—a superiority of 60 per cent. over the German Navy.

THE OCCASION OF THE WAR.—On 28th June 1914 the heir to the Austrian throne and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, the province annexed in 1908. Austria sought to hold Serbia responsible for aiding and abetting the crime. The times seemed

favourable to an aggressive diplomacy. (*a*) Disclosures were made in July about the unsatisfactory condition of French military equipments. (*b*) A great strike occurred at St Petersburg. (*c*) Britain had reached the crisis of the struggle over the Home Rule Bill, and volunteers were drilling to oppose and to defend the execution of the measure (the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Irish Nationalist Volunteers). (*d*) A quarrel about a murder abetted by Serbians was the least likely to attract the enthusiastic support of the Parliament and people of Britain—still less of her colonies. (*e*) If war followed, Germany was confident in her own superior armaments —notably in airships and in enormous siege-guns. (*f*) Delay was dangerous, for the people could not stand much longer the huge increase of expenditure on armaments. (*g*) Further, racial troubles might break out in Austria if her aged Emperor should die, and Germany might thus be deprived of the support of the only Power in which she placed much confidence. Italy was already regarded as a doubtful factor, and was not taken into the confidence of her allies during the negotiations which led to war.

Declaration of War.—On 23rd July, Austria presented her demands to Serbia and required unconditional acceptance within forty-eight hours. These demands included the dismissal of Army officers and State officials to be named by Austria, and the co-operation of Austrian representatives in the proceedings to be taken against Serbians alleged to be concerned in plots against Austria. Serbia's reply did not go as far as Austria desired, but it offered to accept the arbitration of The Hague Tribunal on any points not already conceded. Austria withdrew her diplomatic representative from Serbia on Saturday, 25th July. On Sunday, Russia warned Germany that she could not be indifferent to an attack on Serbia : meanwhile in London Sir Edward Grey

asked the ambassadors of France, Germany, and Italy to join him in a conference which should seek to find a way to avoid European complications. On Monday, Germany declined a conference, treating the matter as one between Austria and Serbia alone, although she already knew that Russia could not so regard the matter. Austria made a further move the next day by declaring war on Serbia. Russia at once began to mobilise, and, while the Czar worked for peace, his military chiefs made preparations for war not only in the south but also as against Germany.

On the 30th, Austrian troops bombarded Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. On the 31st, the German Chancellor asserted that Russia had "mobilised her entire army and navy, hence also against us," and announced that Germany would mobilise also unless assured within twelve hours that Russia had stopped every measure of war against Germany or Austria. In communicating this decision to the German Ambassador in France, the Chancellor added —"Mobilisation inevitably implies war. Please ask French Government whether it intends to remain neutral in a Russo-German war. Reply must be made in eighteen hours." The extent of the Russian mobilisation—a slow process in which Russia could afford no delay *if* war must come—and the short time-limits of the peremptory ultimata of Austria and Germany, made success almost impossible for the peaceful diplomacy of Britain, Italy, and France.

Germany declared war on Russia on 1st August, and invaded France, at Cirey (west of Strasbourg), on Sunday, 2nd August. Austria did not declare war against Russia till 6th August. Italy maintained that the war had an aggressive object on the part of Austria and Germany, and that therefore she was not called upon to assist them, the Triple Alliance being purely defensive: she therefore remained neutral.

BRITAIN AND BELGIAN NEUTRALITY.—On 29th July Germany suggested that, if Britain would undertake to preserve neutrality, Germany would not annex any French territory *on the continent of Europe*. On Thursday, the 30th, Britain declared that such a bargain was not only unacceptable, but would be disgraceful.

The three stages by which Britain entered into the war were as follows :—(*a*) On 31st July, Britain refused to pledge herself to assist France, but warned Germany not to count on her neutrality. As an important factor in determining the attitude to be taken up, inquiries were addressed both to France and to Germany as to their intentions with regard to the neutrality of Belgium.[1] (*b*) On 2nd August, satisfactory assurances having been received from France and none from Germany, Sir Edward Grey informed the French Ambassador that the British fleet would protect the North Sea coast and shipping of France, if they should be attacked by a German fleet. (*c*) On 3rd August Germany asked for a free passage through Belgian territory, promising to respect the integrity of Belgium if she assented, and threatening war if she did not assent within twelve hours. On 4th August, the King of the Belgians having appealed to Britain for diplomatic intervention, Britain sent an ultimatum to Germany, and war was declared. On the same day the Germans entered Belgian territory, and the Imperial Chancellor defended "the wrong we are committing" on the ground of necessity—"necessity knows no law."

The German attack on France through Belgium (instead of a direct assault on the very powerful forts of her eastern frontier) was no surprise to military experts, but it was a mistake on political grounds. Any military advantage gained was more than counter-balanced by the moral advantage given to the other side.

[1] The integrity of Belgium was guaranteed by a treaty of 1839.

Apart from the question of the attack on Belgium, the British people, at home and overseas, felt that no security could exist for peaceful progress so long as Germany was governed by a class which regarded war as a normal means of attaining its ends.

65. THE WORLD WAR, 1914-18

The war of 1914-18 was fought in three continents by the men of five continents. It was fought not only in the North Sea and the Mediterranean but in the Atlantic and the Pacific. It was fought in the air, under the sea, and often underground. It is impossible in a few pages to mention any but the most important actions and campaigns.

The German colonies were gradually conquered during the war. The most remarkable achievements in these campaigns were those of the former Boer leaders, General Botha and General Smuts, in South-West Africa, and the skilful evasion of superior forces by the German General von Lettow-Vorbeck in East Africa. Not only in these extra-European campaigns, but also in the main operations of the war, the soldiers and sailors of the British dominions overseas bore their share of the burden.

Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany in November 1914. A British force was landed at the mouth of the Tigris in the same month. In 1915 General Townshend advanced to within eighteen miles of Bagdad, but had to fall back to Kut-el-Amara. Here he was besieged, and in April 1916 was forced to surrender with 13,000 men, mainly Indian troops. Kut was re-occupied in February 1917, and Sir Stanley Maude took Bagdad on the 11th March. In 1918 the British advanced farther towards Mosul.

In March 1915 a naval attack was made on the forts guarding the straits of Gallipoli. Several British and

French battleships were lost. On the 25th April forces were landed on the peninsula, and on the 7th August an attempt was made to take the Turks in the rear by another landing at Suvla Bay. No considerable successes were gained, and the peninsula was evacuated in December and January 1916.

Meanwhile General Allenby took Jerusalem on the 9th December 1917. In the autumn of 1918 he again made a great advance and occupied Damascus and Aleppo. The Turks obtained an armistice on the 30th October.

Italy declared war on Austria on the 23rd May 1915. In August 1916 the Italians took Gorizia, but they were unable to make further progress; in October 1917 they were surprised by the Germans at Caporetto, and their disastrous retreat did not end until they reached the line of the river Piave. There, with British and French reinforcements, they held the enemy until the closing stages of the war, when they shared in the general triumphal advances. The Austrians surrendered on the 3rd November 1918, and their Emperor abdicated eight days later.

In the Balkans, Bulgaria entered the war on the side of the Central Powers at the beginning of October 1915, and in the next two months assisted in the conquest of Serbia. In view of the treaty obligations of Greece to assist her ally, Serbia, Britain and France landed troops at Salonika on the 5th October. The King of Greece, however, refused to co-operate in hostilities against his brother-in-law, the German Emperor, and the Allied troops remained in the neighbourhood of Salonika, awaiting an opportunity to assist in the restoration of Serbia and preventing the use of Salonika as a submarine base by the enemy. The Serbians themselves had a large share in the decisive success obtained in September 1918, and the Bulgarians were the first of the enemy Powers to surrender (30th September 1918).

Rumania joined the Allies in the autumn of 1916, but in ten weeks the whole of Wallachia was overrun by the Germans, and the capital, Bucharest, fell on the 6th December. Rumania had to make peace on the enemy's terms in May 1918.

Russia had some brief successes in the first few months of the war, but the victories of General von Hindenburg at Tannenberg in East Prussia, and of General Mackensen on the Dunajec river in Galicia, marked the turning of the tide. Poland was invaded from north, west, and south. Warsaw fell on the 4th August 1915, and the Germans pushed forward till they reached Brest-Litovsk, Pinsk, and Lutsk. In 1916 the Russians regained some ground, but in March 1917 a revolution took place. The monarchy disappeared, and the radical leaders were unable to maintain discipline in the Army. The "moderate" leader, Kerensky, was overthrown in November by the Communists under Lenin and Trotsky, who at once entered into negotiations for peace. The Allies ignored an invitation to join in the negotiations, and the new Communist Republic accepted harsh terms at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. The Ukraine had declared its independence and made peace in the previous month, and Finland as well as Poland came under German influence.

On the sea few important battles took place, but the war was decided by the failure of the German submarine attacks on hostile (and neutral) ships and the success of the British blockade of Germany. In addition to the submarine raids, attacks on Allied traders were made with great success by the *Emden* in 1914 and by the *Moewe* in 1916-17. On the 28th August 1914 the Germans lost two light cruisers in a fight near Heligoland; on the 24th January 1915 they lost the *Blücher* in a running fight near the Dogger Bank. Two other battles—both very one-sided—took place in South American waters in

November and December 1914. Off Coronel, on the coast of Chile, the British lost two armoured cruisers; a few weeks later the victorious German squadron was itself destroyed in the Battle of the Falkland Islands. The Atlantic liner *Lusitania* was sunk by German submarines on the 7th May 1915 with a loss of 1200 lives. The most considerable naval battle of the war was fought off the Horn Reef (Jutland) on the 31st May 1916. The hero of the encounter was Sir David Beatty, who at one stage engaged greatly superior forces. The British losses were heavier than those of the enemy, but the latter never risked another engagement. Five days after this fight Lord Kitchener was drowned in the wreck of H.M.S. *Hampshire* off the Orkney Islands. The most brilliant performances of the Navy in the later stages of the war were the raids of H.M.S. *Vindictive* and her consorts for the purpose of blocking the harbours of Zeebrugge and Ostend on the 22nd April and the 9th May 1918.

In the air both aeroplanes and airships were used for bombing raids as well as for purposes of observation. On more than twenty occasions between September 1915 and May 1918 London was bombed by enemy aircraft. German towns, especially in the last year of the war, suffered as severely. These raids were of far less military importance than those which were regularly made on lines of communication and ammunition dumps near the battle-front.

The Western front—in France and Flanders—was the most important scene of the war on land. This front was constituted in the autumn of 1914, and trench warfare continued along the line with only minor fluctuations until 1918. By some authorities the Germans were held to have lost all chance of victory in the first ten days of the war when they were held up by the forts of Liége commanded by the Belgian General Leman. A British force under Sir John French took up its position near

Mons on the 21st August, but was outflanked by enormously superior forces, and, along with the French on its right, retreated steadily till the 4th September, when they were south of the Marne. The Germans, instead of advancing on Paris, turned south-eastward. Checked in front and exposed to a new French army on their right, the Germans had to fall back to the Craonne plateau north of the Aisne. Each side tried to outflank the other: neither succeeded, and the Western front was completed by two hostile lines extending to the North Sea near Nieuport. A magnificent stand by the British secured Ypres (and the road to the Channel ports) in October-November 1914, and another saved it from a great attack in April-May 1915. The new British army raised for the war came into action at Loos in September 1915, and in July 1916—under the command of Sir Douglas Haig—it accomplished great things on the Somme, which led to a withdrawal of the German front early in 1917. The first half of 1916 was marked by repeated attempts by the Germans to capture Verdun, but the French succeeded in saving the fort and regained later in the year all the ground they had lost.

From the 25th February to the 22nd March 1917 the Germans carried out successfully a strategic shortening of their line in Northern France. On a front of a hundred miles the Germans fell back for ten or fifteen miles, giving up the towns of Péronne, Chaulnes, and Ham, but losing only a few hundreds of prisoners. In March the Russian Revolution occurred, but at the beginning of April the United States entered the war owing to the extension of the German submarine attacks on merchant shipping. In April the British captured the Vimy Ridge near Arras, but were disappointed to find that this did not give them command of Lens, an important mining centre. The French followed this with a more costly and more disappointing attack in Champagne, between Soissons and

Aubérive. During the remainder of the year the Russian Revolution had its effect in enabling the Germans to strengthen their forces in the West. Disappointment again attended a series of British attacks in Flanders mud during a wet September and October (Passchendaele). In November Sir Julian Byng won a notable success near Cambrai, but the Germans counter-attacked a few days later and regained most of the ground. The Americans began to take their place in the front line before the end of 1917.

On the 21st March 1918 the Germans began in the neighbourhood of St Quentin a great attack which took them in less than three weeks to the neighbourhood of Amiens. In the next few weeks they advanced in the north from Neuve Chapelle to near Béthune. Again, in the south, they delivered a series of blows (of lessening power) by which they cleared the Chemin des Dames and the Marne and reached Chateau-Thierry. They almost took Amiens, Ypres, and Rheims, and they shelled Paris itself with a long-range gun ; but they reached none of their objectives, they destroyed none of the Allied armies, and American reinforcements arrived in thousands every day. The turn of the tide came on the 18th July. Soissons in the south, Albert and Bailleul in the north, Bapaume in the centre, were recovered in August. In September the Americans recovered the famous St Mihiel salient in the south-east, and the British retook Messines and Passchendaele. In October the progress continued, and St Quentin, Lens, and La Bassée were won before the new German Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, appealed to President Wilson to open negotiations for peace. While notes were passing between the Prince and the President, the Allies recovered Cambrai and Le Cateau, Laon and La Fère (all on the line of the retreat from Mons), Roulers, Menin, Douai, Lille, and the Belgian coast. Early in November Germany was on the brink of revolution and the fleet at Kiel and Hamburg was openly mutinous. With

the Americans at Sédan, the French at Maubeuge, the Belgians in Ghent, and the British at Mons, the armistice was signed at five o'clock in the morning of the 11th November. It took effect six hours later, and the prospect of peace gave relief to the world from as heavy a burden of suffering and anxiety as it had ever known.

66. BRITAIN DURING AND SINCE THE WAR

MEASURES OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.—The man-power and the woman-power of Britain were gradually mobilised during the years 1914 to 1918, until almost every citizen was either serving in the forces or engaged on civilian work of national importance. A New Army of voluntary recruits for the duration of the war began to be enlisted in August 1914. A National Register of men of military age was prepared in the autumn of 1915, and a voluntary scheme of enlistment, with provision for calling up groups in rotation according to age (single men first), was adopted in November 1915. This was not considered to have been completely successful, and conscription was adopted for single men in January 1916. The second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons was opposed by only 39 out of 470 who voted. In May, conscription was extended to married men. In 1918 the age-limit for military service was raised to 50 and in some cases to 55. Recruiting for National Service of a civilian character was never placed on a compulsory basis, and the voluntary schemes adopted were adversely criticised. The organisation of the supply of munitions was entrusted in June 1915 to a Ministry of Munitions. A series of Munitions of War Acts prescribed the conditions of work in munition factories. Problems of the distribution of man-power gave much trouble, and the largest dislocation of industry during the war—the engineers' strike of May 1917—was due mainly to a proposal to introduce unskilled men on

private or commercial work of a "skilled" nature. (The trade unions had agreed in 1915 to the "dilution" of labour on *munition* work.) The services of women were utilised not only in civilian work, but in special branches of the Military, Naval, and Air Forces.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR.—Under the Defence of the Realm Act ("Dora"), regulations were issued from time to time prohibiting practices which were deemed injurious to national safety or to the successful prosecution of the war. The effects of the war were in some parts of the country most noticeable in the darkening of the streets and the early closing of shops. In the later stages of the war the scarcity and high price of food led to restrictions of a more serious nature. Queues were to be seen waiting at provision shops in 1917, and in 1918 a system of rationing was introduced, and national kitchens were opened for the economical supply of cooked food. In the spring of 1917 food prices were estimated to have risen 76 per cent. above the pre-war level: before the end of the war the increase was more than 120 per cent.

The daily expenditure on the war rose from less than £1,250,000 in the first seven months to over £7,000,000. Several War Loans of from £500,000,000 to £1,000,000,000 were raised, and taxation was imposed or increased on sugar, coffee, cocoa, beer and spirits, tobacco and matches. Postal charges were increased. Income tax became heavier, and a large proportion of excess profits made in war-time was taken by the State. The cost of the war to Britain alone must have exceeded 900,000 lives and £7,500,000,000. In 1914 the national Budget had for the first time exceeded £200,000,000: for 1918 the estimated revenue was £842,000,000, and the estimated expenditure £2,972,000,000.[1]

[1] The actual revenue was £889,000,000, and the expenditure £2,579,000,000. The National Debt rose to £7,435,000,000.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES.—The Liberal Government gave way in May 1915 to a national coalition with Mr Asquith as Prime Minister. In December 1916 Mr Asquith was forced to resign, and Mr Lloyd George became the head of a new Government, in which few of the old Liberal leaders were included. New ministries were created to supervise Labour, Food, National Service, Shipping and the Air Forces. The coal-mines were taken over by the Government and a coal controller appointed. The War Cabinet was composed of five members—Mr Lloyd George, Mr Bonar Law, Mr Arthur Henderson, Lord Curzon, and Lord Milner. General Smuts and Sir Edward Carson were added later, and Mr George Barnes took the place of Mr Henderson when the latter, in opposition to the policy of the Government, declared himself in favour of an International Labour Conference at Stockholm in the autumn of 1917 to discuss the possibility of peace.

Labour was deprived by the Munitions of War Act, 1915, of the right to strike (on munition work), but it gained a position of joint responsibility not only in the political offices held by its leaders, but in the appointment of workers' representatives to such bodies as the Cotton Control Board, the Wool Control Council, etc. The policy of joint committees and councils of workpeople and employers was advocated in a series of reports in 1917-18 by a committee of the new Ministry of Reconstruction (the "Whitley Reports"). The Labour Party early in 1918 altered its basis from that of a federation of trade union and socialist organisations to a more democratic structure composed largely of local political groups. It issued a programme of Peace Aims and a scheme of policy for reconstruction after the war.

REFORMS.—Among the reforms introduced during the war the most remarkable were the wide extension of the franchise by the Representation of the People

Act (December 1917), and the new Education Act (August 1918). Under the former Act the number of voters in Parliamentary elections was doubled, and women (over the age of 30) were allowed to vote. In 1928 the franchise was further extended to all women over 21 years of age. The Education Act raised the age-limit to which school attendance is compulsory and made provision for day-time continuation classes. Other measures passed during the war provided for a minimum wage for agricultural workers and a guaranteed price for home-grown corn, for the grant of more liberal pensions to disabled soldiers and sailors, and for "daylight saving" by starting work at an earlier hour in summer.

An Imperial Cabinet was summoned to meet in 1917, and again in 1918, and representatives of India as well as of the Dominions were included. India agreed to assume responsibility for £100,000,000 of War Loan, and was allowed to increase the duties on cotton imports in order to assist her finances. Further extensions of self-government were recommended in 1918 in a joint report by the Secretary of State (Mr E. S. Montagu) and the Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford).

IRELAND.—In dealing with Irish affairs the British Government continued to be unfortunate. At Easter 1916 there was a rising in Dublin, which was easily suppressed, and was followed by a number of executions. Neither the suggestions of Mr Lloyd George, who visited Ireland after the rebellion, nor the recommendations of a Convention of Irishmen, which reported in April 1918, found acceptance with all parties, and, as time went on, the Republican party gained enormously in strength.

GENERAL ELECTION.—The War Parliament (elected in December 1910) was dissolved in November 1918, and a General Election took place on the 14th December. As

soldiers overseas voted, the results were not known till a fortnight later. The Coalition Government (mainly Conservative) was returned to power by an overwhelming majority. The Labour Party gained in strength, but very few of the old Liberal followers of Mr Asquith were successful.

PEACE TREATIES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.—The settlement of the terms of Peace was undertaken by the Prime Ministers of Britain, France, and Italy, and President Wilson of the United States, meeting at Paris. A covenant was also drawn up for the creation of a League of Nations to diminish the risk of future wars. The peace terms were presented to Germany at the beginning of May, and the treaty was signed at Versailles on the 28th June 1919.[1] The ships of the German Navy which had been surrendered off the Firth of Forth on the 21st November and interned at the Orkney Islands, were sunk by their crews just before the peace terms were accepted by Germany.

The Treaty of Peace with Germany is contained in 440 Articles. It includes the covenant of the League of Nations, which has thirty-two original members. In addition to Alsace and Lorraine, the coal-mines of the Sarre Basin were ceded to France. Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugo-Slavia (Serb-Croat-Slovene State) were recognised as independent States, and Danzig became a free city. Plebiscites were to be taken in several frontier territories to determine their future allegiance. The fortifications of Heligoland were to be destroyed, and the Kiel Canal to be opened to the shipping of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality. Germany renounced her overseas possessions and privileges in China, Siam, Morocco, and

[1] Peace with Austria was signed on 10th September and with Bulgaria on 27th November 1919; with Hungary on 4th June and with Turkey on 11th August 1920.

Liberia. The German Army was to be reduced to 100,000 men, recruited voluntarily ; the number of German battleships was limited to six. Germany undertook to make reparation for war damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated [1] Powers, the amount of the damage to be ascertained by an Inter-Allied Commission. As a guarantee for the execution of the Treaty, occupation of German territory by the Allies was to continue for fifteen years.

The object of the League of Nations is to prevent recourse to war and to maintain respect for treaty obligations and the open, just, and honourable conduct of international relations. The League has a permanent secretariat at Geneva, a Council representing five of the principal Powers and nine others, and an Assembly in which each member of the League has one vote.

With a view to the general establishment of labour conditions based on social justice, an International Labour Office was established at Geneva.

DEPRESSION IN TRADE.—The establishment of works committees and joint industrial councils, the holding of a national industrial conference in February 1919, and a recommendation in June 1919 by the majority of a statutory commission in favour of the nationalisation of the coal-mining industry, appeared to indicate that the status of the workers was to be improved and their programme of a " new social order " realised. But the legislation hoped for was not passed ; strikes occurred which brought no advantage to Labour ; and the effects of unsettlement abroad were reflected in a deep depression of trade which remained unrelieved at the beginning of 1922. Retail prices, which in England had risen by November 1920 to 176 per cent. above their pre-war level, fell steadily, to some extent because of the lack of markets abroad. About two million workers were

[1] The United States was not an *Allied* Power.

receiving unemployment relief, and wages were "cut" in all trades; the unions had exhausted their funds in providing benefits, and had lost members who could no longer afford to pay their contributions. Labour became weaker from the point of view of industrial conflict, and tended to look more to political action, winning several seats in Parliament at by-elections. In 1929, after a temporary improvement in trade conditions, a Socialist Ministry held office, but following an acute financial crisis in 1931 a National Government, representative of all parties, was set up. Strong measures were adopted to retain the country's solvency—expenditure was reduced, taxation was increased, and a scale of Tariffs took the place of Free Trade. Within two years the worst effects of the crisis had passed.

LIBERTY AND EMPIRE.—Attempts were made to satisfy the demands of Ireland, India, and Egypt for self-government. (*a*) For *Ireland* a new Home Rule Act was passed at the end of 1920, but it was not acceptable to the Republicans, who carried on a guerrilla war with the forces of the Crown. In July 1921 a truce was arranged, and negotiations in London led, in December, to what was believed to be a satisfactory settlement. The Irish Free State—from which north-eastern Ulster was allowed to hold aloof—was given the status of a Self-Governing Dominion. So far, however, the peaceful development that was anticipated has hardly been realised, and this has been more marked since the Republican leader, Mr De Valera, became Prime Minister of the Free State. (*b*) *India* had received a new constitution under an Act of 1919, which provided for a central Legislative Council and Assembly, and for provincial assemblies without powers to discuss all but a few "reserved" subjects. This fell far short of the claims for responsible government, and agitators sought material for anti-British propaganda both within and beyond India. Opposition

took the form of passive resistance or boycott ("non-co-operation"), but the leader, Mr Ghandi, found it impossible in some places to restrain his adherents from violence. This greatly increased the difficulty of real progress being made, but firmer action by the Government has had a beneficial effect, and further concessions are now (1934) under consideration. (*c*) It was proposed that Britain should withdraw from controlling the government of *Egypt*, retaining only certain military and financial safeguards in view of her special interests in the Suez Canal and the highroad to India. The Nationalist leaders did all they could to secure an absolutely free hand for the future, and an agreed settlement was delayed by prolonged negotiations. The protectorate, however, which had been proclaimed early in the war, was abandoned at the beginning of 1922.

The *Dominions* have shown an inclination to assert their independent nationhood, while remaining partners in the Empire. The vital problem is that of responsibility for self-defence: until that is taken over by a Dominion, it can scarcely be regarded as a fully co-ordinate partner. At the conference of the Premiers of the Empire (June to August 1921), it was resolved to abandon a proposal made in 1917 to hold a special conference "on the Constitutional Relation of the component parts of the Empire." At the Ottawa Conference in 1932 an attempt was made to strengthen the bonds between the various parts of the Empire by means of closer co-operation in trade, and certain agreements were reached.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.—The troubles of the first years of peace were largely due to the refusal of the American Senate to ratify the Treaty with Germany, to join the League of Nations, or to grant France the protective alliance which she had been promised in return for abating her demands that Germany should be reduced

to impotence. The fears of France, in these circumstances, led her to insist on a policy towards Germany which seemed to British people vindictive and short-sighted. Misunderstandings were frequent; compromises on urgent questions had repeatedly to be extemporised. The exclusion of Communist Russia from the world's markets, the harsh treatment of the beaten nations, and the disturbance of the peace in numerous areas by the aggressions of Poles, Greeks, and others, lessened the effective demand for peace-time goods, and contributed to bring about that stagnation of trade which in 1921 kept millions of men idle. Britain was among the first of the nations to sanction the renewal of trade with Russia; and in 1921 its leading statesmen appealed for popular contributions to a fund to relieve sufferers from famine in Russia. The difficulty of "making Germany pay" while preventing Germany from trading in competition with the Allies, led to negotiations as to reparations in kind in Northern France, and as to a two years' postponement or "moratorium" of reparation payments. Between 1922 and 1931 many of Germany's burdens were by agreement cancelled and various loans were raised to assist her, but in 1932 the country again declared that she was unable to meet her obligations. Two years later Chancellor Hitler announced a further suspension of payments to foreign bond-holders.

While these attempts were being made with indifferent success to improve the political and economic state of Europe, relief from the burden of armaments and the removal of causes of future war, especially in the Pacific, had been sought in a Conference at Washington (1921-22). An agreement between the United States, France, Japan, and Britain took the place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; and limits were placed on the construction of battleships. The Locarno Treaty of 1925 marked a further step in the direction of agreement, but the Disarmament Conference

of 1932 from which much was anticipated, was disappointing in its results.

The League of Nations has achieved some useful work, but in the political sphere it too has disappointed its most enthusiastic supporters. The United States and Russia have never been members, and in consequence of disagreements Japan withdrew in 1933 and Germany a year later. The Assembly now meets annually in September ; the Council much more frequently. Several International Labour Conferences have been held, and a Permanent Court of International Justice has been established. In spite of many failures there is still good ground for hope, and the cause of peace was strengthened when in 1928 fifty nations signed the Kellogg Pact, renouncing war as a means of settling international disputes.

67. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Scientific Inventions.—The story of the last two hundred years is a record of increasingly rapid progress in man's mastery over Nature. In the later part of the period another tendency is developing, the study of man's relations to human society and society's obligations to the individual. " Civilisation " is to be judged not only by the extent to which natural forces and resources have been harnessed in the service of man, but also by the extent to which social relations between men are governed by principles of equity and humanity.

The greatest changes in the conditions of life recorded in the whole of this history were the result of scientific inventions during the last hundred years. Places hitherto almost inaccessible were brought within easy reach of each other, and communications became instantaneous. About the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign mail-coaches were much admired which covered long distances at the rate of

ten miles per hour—going from London to Edinburgh, for instance, in forty hours. Better and cheaper communications favoured the establishment of the penny post, and the next few years saw the greatest development in railways and steamships. In 1851 telegraphic cables were laid to Ireland and to France. The telephone was invented in 1876. Wireless telegraphy was established and used for press messages from the Continent in 1899. Three years earlier motor-cars were allowed to proceed without having a man with a red flag walking in front, and to travel as fast as 12 miles an hour: the speed was later increased to 20 miles an hour. In 1930 all speed-restrictions on the open road were withdrawn except in the case of heavy vehicles. Flying machines did not work well till 1908, but submarines had come into use in the navies of the great Powers some years earlier. In June and July 1919 the Atlantic was crossed by airship in a single stage of seventy-five hours, and by aeroplane—first in three stages (America to Newfoundland, thence to the Azores, and thence to Spain), and later in a single flight from Newfoundland to Ireland.

Gas-lighting had been tried as an experiment in Pall Mall in 1807, and by 1823, 215 miles of London streets were lighted by gas. The first Electric Lighting Act was passed in 1882, but it is only since about 1889 that electricity has been much used for lighting streets and houses. Electric power has also been very widely employed for locomotion and for the working of machinery of various descriptions. Equally important have been the medical discoveries for alleviating pain and fighting disease, such as vaccination (made known by Jenner as early as 1798), the use of chloroform, the Pasteur treatment of hydrophobia, and the theory of germs (bacteria).

Town Life: Difficulties and Compensations. —Next to the triumphs of science may be placed the growth of towns and the depopulation of the country

districts. With the opening up of the rich lands in the west of the United States for wheat-growing, with the adoption of Free Trade, and with the cheapening of the cost of transit, agriculture in England became less profitable, and the area devoted to corn-growing dropped by 50 per cent. in the twenty years from 1874 to 1894. In 1921 a quarter of the population of England lived in the Greater London area, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester; and three-tenths of the population of Scotland in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

On the other hand, the value of British manufactures steadily increased, and the country, with its pre-eminence in shipping, became more and more prosperous. For a large number of people life in large towns has been made more tolerable by the invention of the bicycle and the motor-car and by quick communication with the country by train, tram, and bus, by the provision of open spaces for recreation, and by the growth of athleticism in the last generation. Football became a spectacle in the "Eighties"; money was charged for admission to see matches played and the players were paid for exhibiting their skill; finally the clubs became great limited liability companies.[1] Kinematograph entertainments are mainly a development of the present century, although photography dates back to the experiments of a Frenchman, Daguerre, in 1839. The kinema, like the public library, has not yet been utilised to the best advantage for education. Almost every house has now its wireless set, capable of bringing education or amusement, as desired, to the listener's fireside. If a larger number of the people than formerly are able to live a life of comparative comfort, there is still a large proportion of wage-earners who are

[1] Professionalism was recognised in England in 1885 and in Scotland in 1892. A match at Glasgow in 1912 was attended by over 127,000 people. The money paid for admission to another match in 1921 amounted to more than £13,400.

underpaid and forced to live in unwholesome surroundings. The conditions of town life in the poorest or "slum" districts remain a serious blot on our civilisation, but great schemes of re-housing are in progress (1934), and Local Authorities are being urged by the Government to still greater effort.

DEMOCRACY AND ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. — The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 gave political power to workmen in the towns and in the country. They had already been educated in managing their own affairs in trade unions; and elementary general education was made compulsory in 1870, for, as Robert Lowe said, "we must educate our masters." The workers came, by the beginning of the new century, to realise their power: they are coming to recognise their responsibilities also, and to make the Government of Britain more keenly alive to its duties both at home and abroad.

The popular theory of the Manchester school of economists who carried Free Trade in 1846 and dominated English politics for forty years after, was that trade *naturally* flowed into the most profitable channels and that any interference with it must necessarily be harmful. This was a ground for opposing even the Factory Acts. When reaction at last set in against the policy of letting things alone, Mr Gladstone's attention was concentrated on Ireland, and he and most of his followers were out of sympathy with the new movement; before long the Conservatives were equally distracted by the needs of the Empire overseas. The power of Labour grew, almost unnoticed, until its representatives in Parliament had become strong enough to take an independent course.

Before the end of the century it was coming to be generally realised that the competition of individuals would not naturally produce the best results if the competition were on unfair terms. There was a demand that

Government should at least supervise the conditions of the struggle in the interests of humanity and society, that greater freedom for all should be secured by restrictions on the privileges which enabled and tempted some to hamper the free development of others. The great gift of the nineteenth century to the world, it has been said, was the gift of a social conscience.

Social reform has had three phases in this period. (1) There was a sympathetic humanitarian movement among the more prosperous classes, when the misery caused by the new industrial system was realised. Society sought to relieve and uplift those who had been depressed and crushed in the process of industrial competition. This was an effort to do good to the poor from above. (2) There was a scientific movement to secure better conditions for a healthy life—to improve matters from a medical and sanitary standpoint. This was part of the general progress made in all useful arts and sciences in the nineteenth century. (3) Last comes the social phase, in which it is held to be the duty of the State to provide its citizens with a chance to live a decent life. The good of the community requires that every element within it shall be in a healthy state. It is not enough to *do* good to the poor or weak: it is necessary to enable the whole of the people to *make themselves* good and strong. Hence the necessity for ensuring decent housing, moderate hours and healthy conditions of labour, and facilities for recreation and higher education.[1] Hence, too, the demand of the workers for greater control over their workaday life,

[1] Universities have been founded in the last thirty years or so in Wales and Ireland, and at Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Bristol. There are also colleges of a University standard at Nottingham, Reading, and Southampton. A working men's college was established at Oxford in 1899 (Ruskin College), and university education is brought to men working at a trade during the day by the evening classes of the Workers' Educational Association, founded in 1903.

for an improved status and the opportunity to realise to the full all the possibilities of citizenship in a really civilised community.

We have dealt with (1) an Agrarian Revolution in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which changed the view which people took of the land ; (2) a Commercial Revolution in the seventeenth century, which changed our national attitude towards trade and the exchange of wealth ; and (3) an Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, which changed completely our methods of producing wealth. Now, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we come to a Social Revolution—concerned more with men than with land, trade, or machinery ; and interested most of all in men as members of society and fellow-citizens whose weal is inextricably bound together.

John Bright, one of the earliest leaders of the movement, said in 1858 : " The nation in every country dwells in the cottage ; and, unless the light of your constitution can shine there, unless the beauty of your legislation and the excellence of your statesmanship are impressed there on the feelings and condition of the people, rely upon it you have yet to learn the duties of Government."

The great Liberal leader of the end of the nineteenth century was content to reflect at the time of the Jubilee that he had " lived into a gentler time," and that the race had been " reaping, and not scattering ; earning, and not wasting." A generation later, men are much less complacent : there is less satisfaction with what has been accomplished, more anxiety to do wisely and without delay what still lies before us.

The most serious problems which confront the British people to-day are the claims of Labour and the claims of the subordinate partners in the Empire for self-determination, for a greater share in shaping their own destinies. The claim is one for greater responsibilities, not for privileges but for the abolition of privileges.

HISTORY YET TO BE MADE.—The hope of a satisfactory and peaceful solution lies beyond doubt in the better education of the people. We must all learn to think for ourselves and to realise the relative importance of things. We must prove all things and hold fast to those which are good; condemn nothing without examination; accept nothing without understanding it. We must examine things in the light of their "social value," and strive not for selfish ends or privileges, but for the general good. The true test of success for a man or woman or for a nation is not material prosperity, but the contribution made by each towards enabling all to enjoy a full and healthy life.

The period which follows a great war is always one which gives an opportunity for a fresh start on a higher or on a lower plane. There are temptations towards an easy-going reaction from strains and efforts, and restrictions towards relaxation, sensationalism, and cheap and vulgar amusements. There is, no doubt, a time for relaxation and amusement, but life is short and the work of making a world fit for men and women to live in is long and heavy. History is still in the making, and more than ever the individual men and women of Great Britain have a great share in a great responsibility in helping to shape the destinies of millions of fellow-citizens, and still more millions of fellow men and women.

CONCURRENT EVENTS

IN BRITISH AND EUROPEAN HISTORY FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

THE following *Table* is constructed to show at a glance from century to century the leading events in the history and development of Great Britain. At the same time, the great movements that shaped the destinies of the most important European nations, more especially those of western, central, and northern Europe, are indicated concurrently with the facts of British history.

THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES

SCOTTISH HISTORY

The dwellers in *North Britain* about the time of Christ are known to us as *Caledonians* or *Picts*. These occupied the land to the north of the Forth and Clyde, the country at first being divided into two kingdoms, North Pictland and South Pictland.

ENGLISH HISTORY

The first inhabitants of *South Britain* of whom we read were called *Britons*. They consisted of many different tribes, and occupied the land as far north as the Forth and Clyde.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

The first continental people to be connected with the history of our own island of which we have any authentic record were the *Romans*. These were a Latin race who founded *Rome* and gradually extended their sway till their empire included *the whole civilised world then known*. This comprised all the countries round the Mediterranean Sea, extending east to the Euphrates, north to the Rhine and Danube, and even including Britain as far north as the Forth and Clyde.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

Julius Cæsar, after conquering Gaul (France), twice visited Britain *B.C. 55-54*

Emperor Claudius sent a strong army to invade Britain. *A.D. 43*

Caractacus, a brave British chief of South Wales, resisted heroically *A.D. 51*

		Emperor Constantine the Great declared himself a *Christian 312*
	Suetonius massacred the *Druids* or priests in Anglesey *61* *Boadicea*, Queen of the Iceni, in the east of England, defeated the Romans in several engagements *61*	(Christianity had begun about the time the empire had been created, and its believers had suffered much persecution.) *By the end of the 4th century Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire.* (To this day all the European peoples which then formed part of the empire, or drew their civilisation from it, have remained Christian, though the religions in the various countries differ in form.)
The *Romans*, after conquering South Britain, attempted to subdue North Britain. Caledonia was invaded by *Julius Agricola*, and the Caledonians defeated at *Mons Graupius* *A.D. 80*	*Julius Agricola* took command in Britain, and completed the conquest of the country *78-84*	
The *Emperor Hadrian* led an army into the North, and later still *Lollius Urbicus*, but with doubtful success. The *Emperor Severus* penetrated to the Moray Firth, but made no permanent gain *208*	*Emperor Hadrian* visited Britain, and built a wall between Tyne and Solway about *120*	Wild tribes from the north and east (Franks, Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, etc.) began to invade the empire. *Constantinople* (the ancient Greek city, Byzantion, but rebuilt by Constantine) became a second capital of the empire.
Roman legions, including many youths from Britain, *left our island* to protect the empire from the inroads of the barbarians *407-410*		The *West Goths*, from beyond the Danube, under *Alaric*, *sacked Rome* *410*

SCOTTISH HISTORY

THE MAKING OF THE SCOTTISH NATION

The *Scots* from Scotia (Ireland) landed on the west coast and established a small kingdom, *Dalriada* About *500*

During succeeding years they gradually extended the limits of their territory.

St Columba from Scotia landed in Iona, established a religious centre there *563*

Kentigern, or *St Mungo*, preached to the Britons of Strathclyde.

Aidan, about forty years after St Columba's death, left Iona to preach Christianity to the Angles. The great missionary of Lothian or Bernicia, however, was *St Cuthbert*.

Brude, King of the Picts, defeated the Angles of Lothian at *Nectan's Mere*, Forfarshire *685*

ENGLISH HISTORY

SAXON ENGLAND

Picts from Caledonia, *Scots* from Scotia (Ireland), and *Jutes*, *Angles*, and *Saxons* from North Germany, attacked Britain on all sides after the withdrawal of Roman protection.

Jutes, Angles, and Saxons began to settle in the land *449*

Seven kingdoms established *449-586*

Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory to England to preach Christianity *597*

Cædmon, first English poet, died *680*

Bede, first *Saxon* prose writer, died *735*

Egbert, King of Wessex, obtained supremacy over the other kingdoms, and was recognised as *King of the English* *827*

EUROPEAN HISTORY

A *Gothic kingdom was founded in Spain*, being the *first Teutonic kingdom within the empire.*

Other Teutonic tribes (*Jutes*, *Angles*, and *Saxons*) crossed over to Britain, and began to settle in the land *449*

A Gothic kingdom was founded in Italy and adjoining lands *500*

Northern Gaul came under the sway of the Franks. (The name of this kingdom is still retained in *France*.)

In the various countries grew up the romance (*i.e.* Roman) languages, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Provençal* (South Gaul), and *French* (North Gaul), these being different forms of Latin with a mixture of German words.

The Moors (*Mahometans*) invaded and established themselves in Spain *711*

Under *Charles the Great* (Charlemagne), the Franks became the ruling people in Western Europe. They entered Italy, and Charles was crowned Emperor *800*

Kenneth MacAlpin, King of Scots, and related also to the Pictish royal family, *became King of both Picts and Scots* 844

The land to the north of the Forth and Clyde from this time gradually came to be called Scotia, and the people Scots.

Cumbria handed over to the Scots 944

Malcolm II, King of Scotia, defeated the Angles at *Carham*, and gained possession of Lothian 1018

Malcolm's grandson, Duncan, became heir to the kingdom of Strathclyde. *One King thus became master of the whole of North Britain from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth* 1018

The *Danes* routed at Hengsdown Hill in Cornwall 838

Alfred the Great struggled against the Danes for many years. Completely defeated them at *Ethandune* 878

The Danes became Christian and settled in the *Danelagh*.

Athelstan of Wessex won the battle of *Brunanburgh* 937

DANISH ENGLAND

A heavy tax called *Danegeld* imposed to buy off the Danes 982

Ethelred, the Saxon King, attempted to get rid of the Danes by a general massacre during a church festival 1002

Sweyn, King of Denmark, invaded England and ravaged the country 1003

On Sweyn's death, *Canute*, his son, was *proclaimed King of England* 1013

Canute appointed Saxons as well as Danes to rule the country. *Earl Godwin's* influence.

The Saxon line restored in the person of *Edward the Confessor* 1042

The *Danes*, Teutonic nations of the north of Europe, settled in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*.

The Danes and Northmen (people of Norway) plundered and settled in many lands during the *9th and 10th centuries*, including England, Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, and Greenland. In the *9th century* the *Northmen* plundered the coast of Gaul, and in course of time effected a settlement there and founded the *Duchy of Normandy*.

Rolf, first Duke of the Normans 913

In *887* the great Empire of Charlemagne was divided among his grandsons, and the foundation of the principal western nations of Europe laid. We have the *East Franks* in *Germany*, the *West Franks* in *France*, and the kingdoms of *Italy* and *Burgundy*.

Magyar invasions of Europe 889

Otto the Great, ruler of Germany, defeated the Magyars 954

The Magyars became Christian and gradually settled down in *Hungary*.

SCOTTISH HISTORY	ENGLISH HISTORY	EUROPEAN HISTORY
Malcolm III (Canmore) became King *1057*	*Harold*, Godwin's son, elected King *1066*	*Otto the Great crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire 962-73*
He married English *Princess Margaret*, introduced English laws and customs, and granted lands to Englishmen.	*William, Duke of Normandy*, landed at Pevensey to wrest England from Harold *1066*	*Hugh Capet* became first King of the French *987*
	NORMAN ENGLAND	*Hungary* became a kingdom *1000*
	William the Conqueror crowned King *1066*	*William, Duke of the Normans*, crossed over to England, and became King of that country *1066*
	Rebellions by Welsh, Scots, and Danes crushed.	William and his sons had frequent wars with the Kings of France.
	Hereward the Wake, the "Last of the English."	*Pope Gregory VII* forced the Emperor Henry III to humble himself at *Canossa* *1076*
	Feudal System introduced about *1070*	The Pope succeeded in setting Church above State.
Malcolm invaded England several times, but William the Norman entered Scotland, and forced Malcolm to acknowledge him as his overlord *1072*		*Peter the Hermit* preached the *First Crusade* *1059*
Malcolm once more invaded England, and was defeated and slain at Alnwick *1093*	Death of William *1087*	By this Crusade a Latin Kingdom was established at Jerusalem and the *Knights Templars* were instituted to defend Jerusalem against the infidels *1118*
David I, youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, came to the throne *1124*	England governed by two of the Conqueror's sons in succession. On the death of Henry I, *Stephen*, grandson of the Conqueror, claimed the throne, in opposition to Maud, the daughter of Henry *1135*	
David introduced many Norman laws and customs into Scotland.		
Feudal system established.		
David invaded England in support of the claims of his niece Maud, and was defeated at the *Battle of the Standard* *1138*		
Received Northumberland and lands in other parts of England from Stephen *1139*		

David built the monasteries of Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, etc. "The Sore Saint."

Malcolm IV (The Maiden) succeeded David *1153*

THE PLANTAGENET KINGS

Henry II, grandson of Henry I, succeeded to the throne *1154*

He curbed the power of the barons, and effected reforms in the Law Courts and the Church.

Constitutions of Clarendon *1164*

During the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, the *Christians* in Spain fought against the *Mahometans*, till at last, in 1231, the latter only possessed *Granada*.

The chief wars between Christians and Mahometans took place in the East.

The Second Crusade *1147-49*

Henry of England forced Malcolm to give up Northumberland and other English lands. These lands were thus finally lost to Scotland *1157*

William the Lion, brother of Malcolm, came to the throne *1165*

Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was opposed to Henry's reforms, was murdered *1170*

William was captured by English at Alnwick, and was only released by Henry II after he had acknowledged himself to be the vassal of England *1174*

Scotland's independence regained by a payment of 10,000 marks to *Richard the Lion-hearted* *1189*

Capture of *Jerusalem* by Saracens *1187*

Oxford University believed to have been founded in the 12th century.

Richard I. (the Lion Heart) set out on the *Third Crusade* *1190*

John (Lackland), brother of Richard, came to the throne *1199*

The *Third Crusade* (Richard I of England and Philip of France) *1190*

The *Fourth Crusade* *1202*

SCOTTISH HISTORY	ENGLISH HISTORY	EUROPEAN HISTORY
Alexander II, son of William the Lion, succeeded *1214*	He lost his possessions in France, and quarrelled with the Pope, who placed England under an interdict *1208*	Constantinople taken and held by Crusading barons *1204*
	The barons rebelled against John, and forced him to agree to *Magna Carta*, or the *Great Charter* *1215*	*Philip Augustus* of France won Normandy and Anjou from John of England *1204*
	Cambridge University referred to as early as *1229*	The *Fifth Crusade* *1228*
Alexander III, son of Alexander II, determined to win back the *Hebrides*; *Hakon of Norway* was defeated by Alexander at Largs, and his fleet shattered by a great storm *1263*	*Simon de Montfort* forced John's successor, Henry III, to rule by the aid of a Council of twenty-four nobles *1258*	The *Sixth Crusade* *1248*
	Simon and his supporters rose against the King and defeated him at *Lewes*, capturing Henry and his son Edward *1264*	Marco Polo (who travelled to China) *1256-1323*
	Simon de Montfort summoned a *Parliament* composed of barons, clergy, and representatives of counties and boroughs *1265*	*Constantinople*, capital of the Eastern Empire, having been captured by the Crusaders, was retaken by the Greeks *1261*
	Prince Edward escaped, raised an army, and defeated and slew Montfort at *Evesham* *1265*	(Constantinople remained in Greek hands till its conquest by the Turks *1453*)
Hakon died in the Orkneys, and the *Hebrides*, three years later, *finally* became a *part of Scotland* *1266*	Edward I subdued *Wales*, and made it an English Principality *1282*	*Dante*, the great Italian poet *1265-1321*
Alexander III was killed near Kinghorn, and was succeeded by his granddaughter *Margaret, the Maid of Norway* *1286*		Edward I of England joined in the Holy Wars (*Seventh Crusade*) *1270*
		All lost to the Christians in Palestine *1291*

Margaret died at Orkney on the way to her kingdom *1290*

John Balliol's claims to the Scottish throne were upheld by Edward I who had been asked to act as umpire *1292*

John Balliol rebelled against Edward, and formed an alliance with France. This was the beginning of the *Franco-Scottish Alliance* *1295*

Edward I. sought to establish sound and just government. The *Model Parliament* *1295*

(During the 13th and 14th centuries the states of Venice and Genoa were the most important traders in the Mediterranean; while the Hanseatic towns (Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, etc.) played the same important part in the Baltic and North Sea.)

THE WAR OF SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

Edward invaded Scotland; carried off *Stone of Destiny*, and all national documents *1296*

Sir William Wallace defeated the English at *Stirling Bridge* *1297*

Wallace invaded England, but on his return was defeated by Edward at Falkirk *1298*

Wallace betrayed and executed *1305*

Robert Bruce, grandson of the Bruce who claimed the crown with Balliol, was crowned at Scone *1306*

Edward I, the "Hammer" of the Scots, died at Burgh-on-Sands, on his way to Scotland *1307*

Bruce routed the English at *Bannockburn* *1314*

Independence of Scotland acknowledged by the Treaty of Northampton *1328*

David II, son of Robert Bruce, succeeded to the throne *1329*

Edward Balliol, son of John Balliol, assisted by Edward III of England, defeated the Scots at *Dupplin Moor*, and was crowned King at Scone *1332*

The Scots again defeated at *Halidon Hill* *1333*

David II in France *1334-41*

Mariner's compass, invented by an Italian in Naples, led to bolder enterprise in voyaging into unknown seas *1302*

In Central Europe the League of the *Forest Cantons*, *Uri*, *Schwyz*, and *Unterwalden*, was formed to resist the power of Austria. (The nucleus of Switzerland.) *1291*

They overthrew Austrian power at *Morgarten* *1315*

Three neighbouring cities, *Luzern*, *Zurich*, and *Bern*, joined the League.

Order of the Knights Templars suppressed *1312*

Gunpowder invented by a monk of Cologne *1340*

SCOTTISH HISTORY	ENGLISH HISTORY	EUROPEAN HISTORY
The Scots, under David, defeated at *Neville's Cross*, and the King taken prisoner *1346* After eleven years David was released, on the Scots promising to pay *100,000* marks.	*Edward III* laid claim to the French crown, and defeated the French at *Crecy* *1346*	The *Hundred Years' War* began between France and England. Philip of France sought to win Aquitaine, while Edward of England claimed the throne of France by right of his mother *1337*
	Calais taken *1347*	
The Black Plague or Pestilence *1349-1350*	The *Black Death* *1348-50*	
The Burnt Candlemas *1356*	Edward's son, the *Black Prince*, won a victory over the French at *Poitiers*, and captured King John of France *1356*	In spite of these wars and the several great victories won by England in the beginning of the struggle, France continued to extend its limits. (In the 14th and 15th centuries France gradually acquired possession of the kingdom of *Burgundy*, and drove the English out of France.)
THE HOUSE OF STEWART		
Robert II, nephew of David II, succeeded to the throne on David's death *1371*	By the *Treaty of Bretigny* Edward gained several provinces in France *1360*	
This was the first King of the *House of Stewart*.	Death of the Black Prince *1376*	
	Richard II, his son, became King *1377*	
	Heavy taxes levied to meet the expenses of the long wars caused great distress, and led the peasants, under *Wat Tyler*, to rebel *1881*	The war of "*the Jacquerie*," an insurrection of the peasants of the north of France against the nobles *1358*
	The teachings of *Wycliffe*, "the morning star of the Reformation," were condemned by the Primate *1382*	Struggle between Venice and Genoa, ended in triumph of Venice *1350-81*
Admiral de Vienne in Scotland *1385*	Death of Wycliffe *1384*	

Richard of England led an army into Scotland, and destroyed the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh, and the town of Edinburgh *1385*

In revenge, *Douglas* raided England. He defeated Lord Percy (*Hotspur*) at *Otterburn*, but was himself slain *1388*

John, eldest son of Robert II, succeeded to the throne as *Robert* III *1390*

Elgin Cathedral burned *1390*

Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, banished from England *1397*

On John of Gaunt's death Henry returned to claim his father's estates. He forced Richard II to abdicate, and was proclaimed King as *Henry IV* *1399*

Chaucer died *1400*

Oxford University now recognised as a first-class seat of learning in Europe.

Switzerland secured its freedom by the victory of *Sempach*, where Leopold of Austria was slain *1386*

Froissart, the Chronicler *1337-1410*

The three Scandinavian kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, were united for a time under one sovereign *1397*

Assassination of Duke of Orleans. Beginning of struggle between the Houses of *Burgundy and Orleans* in France *1407*

The House of Hohenzollern became rulers over Brandenburg, of which the capital was Berlin *1415*

Rise of *Florence*.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

The King's eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, was imprisoned and died in Falkland Castle *1402*

Robert's only surviving son, James, was captured by the English while on his way to France *1405*

James I, son of Robert III, declared King on the death of his father *1406*

Regency of Duke of Albany, uncle of James *1406-1420*

Burning of James Resby, *the first martyr* in Scotland *1407*

Battle of Harlaw, in which the Lord of the Isles was defeated *1411*

The first statute authorising the persecution and burning of *heretics* (*Lollards*, or followers of Wycliffe) was passed during the reign of Henry IV *1401*

Rebellion, under the Percies of Northumberland, aided by the Welsh and the Scots.

Henry defeated the combined rebels at *Shrewsbury* *1403*

SCOTTISH HISTORY

University of St Andrews established *1414*

Regency of Duke Murdoch, cousin of James *1420-1424*

James released from prison on promise of ransom of £40,000 *1424*

Sir Robert Graham and other nobles murdered James at Perth *1437*

James II, son of James I, crowned at Holyrood.

Conflict between *the King and the Douglases.*

Earl of Douglas killed in Stirling *1452*

The Douglases driven out of Scotland *1455*

James laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, which was in the hands of the English, and was killed by the bursting of a cannon *1460*

James III, son of James II, became King.

ENGLISH HISTORY

The *Lollards* rose in rebellion, but were suppressed *1414*

Henry V laid claim to the French throne, invaded France, and routed French at *Agincourt* *1415*

Henry recognised as heir to the French Crown, *1420*, but died *1422*

The siege of *Orleans* raised by *Joan of Arc* *1429*

Joan of Arc burned *1431*

Loss of Normandy *1450*

Jack Cade's rebellion *1450*

The Wars of the Roses began. The two parties were the *Yorkists* (who wore a white rose), headed by the Duke of York, who was descended from the 2nd son of Edward III; and the *Lancastrians* (who wore a red rose), the supporters of Henry VI, who was descended from the 3rd son of Edward III *1455*

Battle of *Towton* *1461*

Edward IV *1461-83*

EUROPEAN HISTORY

John Huss, the Bohemian reformer and follower of John Wycliffe, was burned by order of the great Council of the Catholic Church *1415*

Joan of Arc relieved Orleans, and won a series of victories over the English *1429*

A Prince of the House of Hapsburg (Austria) began to be elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire *1438*

Invention of the art of *Printing* by John Gutenberg at Strasburg about *1440*

This led many people to read and to think for themselves, and helped to make possible the great religious reforms of the following century. This movement is known as the *Revival of Learning.*

Turks captured Constantinople *1453*

Many Greek scholars fled to Florence and elsewhere and stimulated the movement known as the Revival of Learning.

Great Artists in Italy.

Leonardo da Vinci *1452-1519*

Michael Angelo *1475-1564*

James married Margaret, the daughter of King Christian, of Norway, and received as her dowry the *Orkney and Shetland Islands* *1468-9*

James's favourites hanged *1482*

Defeat and death of the King at *Sauchieburn* *1488*

James IV, son of James III, succeeded.

Sir Andrew Wood of Largo captured five English ships in the Forth, and later three ships sent against him by Henry VII of England *1489*

University of Aberdeen established *1495*

Battles of *Barnet* and *Tewkesbury* *1471*

Edward V *1483*

Richard III *1483-85*

Battle of *Bosworth* *1485*

Richard slain

Wars were brought to a conclusion by the marriage of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond (crowned *Henry VII*), a Lancastrian prince, with Elizabeth, daughter of the Yorkist King, Edward IV *1485*

Perkin Warbeck claimed the throne *1492*

Defeated, captured, and executed *1497*

The marriage of the rulers Aragon and Castile led to the consolidation of Spain as a Kingdom *1479*

The discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope* opened up a wide field for trade in India and the East *1486*

The Kingdom of Granada wrested from the Moors by Spain *1492*

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese in the service of Spain, sailed across the Atlantic, and discovered the *West Indies* *1492*

These discoveries led to the planting of great and rich colonies across the Atlantic.

SCOTTISH HISTORY	ENGLISH HISTORY	EUROPEAN HISTORY
		John and Sebastian Cabot, Venetians in the service of Henry VII of England, discovered the mainland of *N. America* *1498*
		Vasco da Gama reached India by the Cape *1498*
James married Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII *1503* (One hundred years later, the great-grandson of James and Margaret became King of Scotland, England, and Ireland.)		
	THE HOUSE OF TUDOR	
	Henry VIII, son of Henry VII, defeated the French at the *Battle of the Spurs* *1513*	
James invaded England, and was defeated and slain at *Flodden* *1513*		
James V, son of James IV, crowned at Stirling *1513*		
		In the 16th century the new religious movement gained strength by the preaching of *Martin Luther* in Germany *1517*
	Wolsey made Chancellor *1515*	
	The *Field of the Cloth of Gold* *1520*	
	Henry received the title of *Defender of the Faith* *1521*	Luther defended his doctrines at the *Diet of Worms* before the Supreme Court of the Empire *1521*
Patrick Hamilton was burned at St Andrews. "*The Proto-Martyr of the Scottish Reformation*" *1528*	Henry VIII declared himself the *Head of the Anglican Church*. This was confirmed by Parliament *1534*	Spain (Hernando Cortez) conquered Mexico *1519-1521*
	Sir Thomas More and others executed *1535*	
	The *Complete English Bible* translated by *Miles Coverdale*. A copy chained to a desk in every parish church *1536*	Spain (Francisco Pizarro) conquered *Peru* *1532-1536*

Smaller *Monasteries* suppressed, and their revenues appropriated. The Pilgrimage of Grace *1536*
Larger Monasteries suppressed *1539*

The princes and great cities that believed in the teachings of Luther *protested* against the decrees issued against the Reformers, and so came to be called *Protestants* *1529*

James V's forces suffered defeat at *Solway Moss* *1542*
Mary, Queen of Scots, succeeded *1542*

Henry VIII proposed that the young Queen should be married to his son, Edward. Earl of Hertford raided Scotland, took Leith, and burned Edinburgh and every village on his way south *1544*
The English were defeated at *Ancrum Moor* *1545*
Hertford once more ravaged Scotland, destroying abbeys, towns, and villages *1545*

Council of Trent, called to reform evils and abuses of R.C. Church and to combat the new doctrines *1545-63*

George Wishart burned by order of Cardinal Beaton at St Andrews *1546*

Murder of Cardinal Beaton at St Andrews *1546*

Henry VIII succeeded by his son *Edward VI*, a boy of ten. *Somerset Protector* *1547*

Death of Martin Luther *1546*
Cervantes, author of "Don Quixote," born in New Castile *1547*

Somerset, renewed offer of marriage between Edward and Mary. As the Scots rejected this offer, he led an army into Scotland and routed the Scots at *Pinkie* *1547*

Ivan the Terrible took the title of Tsar of Russia *1547*

Queen Mary sent to France *1548*

English troops withdrawn *1550*

A new *Book of Common Prayer* in English was prepared and its use enforced *1549*
The *Forty-two Articles*, embodying the beliefs of the Church of England, published *1553*

SCOTTISH HISTORY	ENGLISH HISTORY	EUROPEAN HISTORY
	Edward VI died, and was succeeded by *Mary*, daughter of Henry VIII *1553*	
Mary of Lorraine became Regent *1554*	Mary being a Catholic, she imprisoned the leaders of the Reformation, abolished the Prayer Book, and ordered Mass to be said.	
The First Covenant drawn up by the "Lords of the Congregation" *1557*	Mary married *Philip II of Spain*, the most powerful Catholic monarch in Europe *1554*	By the *Peace of Augsburg*, the old religion and the reformed religion were placed on an equal footing throughout Germany *1555*
Mary's husband, Francis, the Dauphin of France, succeeded to the French throne on the death of Henry II *1559*	*Persecution of the Protestants.* Bishops *Ridley*, *Hooper*, and *Latimer*, and Archbishop *Cranmer* burned at the stake *1555-6*	
Civil War between the Queen-Regent and the Protestants.		
The siege of Leith, and the death of Mary of Lorraine *1560*	*Calais*, the last of English possessions in France, captured by the French *1558*	The French finally expelled the English from their territory by the capture of Calais *1558*
The *Reformed Church established* by Parliament, and the *Confession of Faith* and *First Book of Discipline* drawn up. First meeting of the *General Assembly* of the new Church of Scotland *1560*	Mary succeeded by *Elizabeth*, the Protestant daughter of Henry VIII *1558*	
Francis died and Mary returned to Scotland *1561*	*Elizabeth* acknowledged by Parliament as supreme governor in Church affairs *1559*	
Mary married *Lord Darnley*, who was a Catholic, and the nearest heir to the English throne, after herself *1565*	The Forty-two Articles of Religion reduced to *Thirty-nine*, and the *Reformed English Church permanently established* *1563*	*Religious Wars* in France between the Huguenots (Protestants) and Roman Catholics *1562-98*
The Chase-about or Round-about Raid.		
Murder of David Riccio, the Queen's secretary *1566*	*Rising of Shane O'Neill* in Ireland *1566-67*	
Lord Darnley murdered in Kirk-of-Field *1567*		

Mary imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle, and *forced to abdicate* in favour of her infant son *James* *1567*

Mary escaped from Loch Leven. *Battle of Langside* *1568*

Regent Moray shot by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh in Linlithgow *1570*

Regencies of Lennox, Mar, and Morton *1570-78*

Death of John Knox *1572*

A General Assembly established *Presbyterianism*, and drew up a *Second Book of Discipline* *1581*

University of Edinburgh founded *1582*

Mary, Queen of Scots, executed at Fotheringay *1587*

The Gowrie Conspiracy *1600*

A plot, headed by Northumberland and Westmorland, to put Mary, Queen of Scots, on the throne of England, crushed *1569*

Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe during a three years' cruise *1577-1580*

During Elizabeth's reign, the *English Colonies* beyond the seas had their beginning.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert planted a colony in *Newfoundland.*

Sir Walter Raleigh tried to colonise *Virginia* *1585*

Drake's Cadiz Expedition *1587*

The *Invincible Armada* almost utterly destroyed *1588*

The *East India Company*, composed of London merchants, was formed *1600*

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* *1602*

James VI, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, succeeded to the English throne as James I *1603*

The *Netherlands*, possessions of Spain, revolted under *William the Silent* *1568*

Massacre of St Bartholomew, many Protestants (Huguenots) slain in Paris *1572*

A Federal Commonwealth formed, called the *Seven United Provinces*, of which *Holland* was the chief *1581*

Assassination of William the Silent, the first Stadtholder of the United Provinces *1584*

Spain sent out the *Invincible Armada* against England *1588*

Henry of Navarre reigned over France as Henry IV *1589-1610*

Henry won victory of *Ivry* *1590*

By the *Edict of Nantes* the Huguenots received toleration *1598*

Dutch East India Company founded *1602*

BRITISH HISTORY		EUROPEAN HISTORY	
Hampton Court Conference	*1604*		
Gunpowder Plot	*1605*		
Foundation of Virginia	*1607*		
		Truce between Spain and the United Provinces	*1609-21*
		The *Moriscos* (*Moors*) *driven from Spain* (As the Moors were clever and industrious, their expulsion implied a great loss to Spain. So much so that the prosperity of the country began steadily to decline.)	*1609*
Plantation of Ulster	*1610*	Assassination of Henry of Navarre	*1610*
Authorised Version of the Bible issued	*1611*		
Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh	*1618*	Beginning of the *Thirty Years' War* (This war, originally a struggle between German Protestants and Catholics, gradually involved most of the nations of Europe.	*1618*
The five "*Articles of Perth*" adopted (These were ratified by Parliament in 1621.)	*1618*		
The *Pilgrim Fathers* set sail for America in the *Mayflower*, where they founded the colony of New England	*1620*		
On the death of James, *Charles I* succeeded	*1625*	Rising of the *Huguenots* in France	*1625*
Buckingham unsuccessfully attempted to relieve La Rochelle	*1627*		
Parliaments drew up the *Petition of Right*	*1628*	Siege and capture of *La Rochelle* by Cardinal Richelieu (who was practically supreme in France from 1624 to 1642)	*1628*
		Death of *Gustavus Adolphus* of Sweden, the most renowned leader of the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War	*1632*
Charles visited Scotland	*1633*		
Charles imposed *Ship-money*	*1634*		
The National Covenant	*1638*		
Episcopacy abolished in Scotland by Glasgow Assembly	*1638*		
Bishops' Wars	*1639-40*		

Long Parliament met	*1640*
Strafford tried on a charge of treason, condemned and executed	*1641*
Parliament passed the *Grand Remonstrance*, enumerating all the evils and illegal acts of Charles' reign	*1641*
Attempt by Charles to arrest the Five Members	*1642*
King's standard was raised at Nottingham and *Civil War began*	*1642*
Parliaments of England and Scotland signed the *Solemn League and Covenant*	*1643*
Battle of *Marston Moor*	*1644*
Battle of *Naseby*	*1645*
Montrose's Campaigns	*1644-45*
Montrose crushed at *Philiphaugh*	*1645*
Charles surrendered to the Scots	*1646*
Charles handed over to Parliament	*1647*
The Second Civil War	*1648*
The King tried by the "Rump" Parliament, condemned and executed at Whitehall	*1649*

Galileo Galilei, great Italian astronomer	*1564-1642*
Portugal regained her independence by throwing off the Spanish yoke	*1640*
Peter Paul Rubens, great German painter	*1577-1640*
War between France and Spain	*1635-59*
The great *Condé* defeated the Spaniards at *Rocroy*	*1643*
Louis XIV (the Grand Monarch) King of France	*1643-1715*
The War of the Fronde began (A struggle between the French Court party, headed by Mazarin, and powerful nobles who were animated chiefly by a hatred of Mazarin. The Civil War raged through France for five years.)	*1648*
The Treaty of Westphalia closed the Thirty Years' War, leaving France the strongest Power in Europe, instead of Spain. Germany was ruined and divided, while Sweden rose to considerable power	*1648*

BRITISH HISTORY		EUROPEAN HISTORY	
Cromwell defeated the Scots at *Dunbar*	*1650*		
Battle of Worcester	*1651*		
Navigation Act passed	*1651*		
War with the Dutch Victories of Monk and Blake	*1652-54*	The Dutch colonised the Cape of Good Hope	*1652*
Oliver Cromwell, Protector	*1653-58*		
Jamaica taken from Spain	*1655*		
		Under the Great Elector, Frederick William I, *Prussia* became independent of Poland (*The House of Hohenzollern* came into power by the joining of the Duchy of Prussia and the Electorate of Brandenburg in 1611.)	*1657*
		The long war between *France and Spain* was brought to an end by the *Peace of the Pyrenees*	*1659*
Coronation of Charles II—the Restoration	*1660*		
" Cavalier " Parliament passed four Acts known as the *Clarendon Code*, viz., *Corporation Act*, *Act of Uniformity*, *Conventicle Act*, and *Five Mile Act*	*1661-65*	Louis XIV assumed the government of France, and laid his will on his own kingdom and also on a great portion of Europe	*1661*
War was declared against the Dutch (Ended by Treaty of Breda two years later.)	*1665*		
The Great Plague	*1665*		
The *Fire of London*	*1666*		
The Pentland Rising	*1666*		
Milton's *Paradise Lost*	*1667*		
The *Triple Alliance* was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden to check the ambitions of Louis XIV	*1668*	The *Triple Alliance* of England, Holland, and Sweden was formed against Louis	*1668*
The Secret Treaty of Dover	*1670*		

	The French invaded the United Provinces (Holland) *1672*
	De Witt, who had practically guided the affairs of the United Provinces from 1653, was assassinated *1672*
	(*William, Prince of Orange*, became ruler of the Dutch Republic.)
The *Test Act* was passed *1673*	*Molière*, French dramatist *1622-73*
Princess Mary married William, Prince of Orange *1677*	
The Popish Plot and Titus Oates *1678*	The *Peace of Nimeguen* put an end to the French
John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* *1678*	War against Holland and allies *1678*
The *Habeas Corpus Act* was passed *1679*	
Archbishop Sharp murdered *1679*	
Drumclog and *Bothwell Bridge* *1679*	
	Russia under *Peter the Great* began a remarkable career of advancement *1682*
The Rye House Plot *1683*	Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV had granted toleration to the Protestants of France *1685*
Charles II died and was succeeded by *James II* *1685*	
Risings under *Argyle* and *Monmouth* *1685*	*A Great Alliance* was formed against France by England, the Empire, Sweden, Spain, Netherlands, etc. *1689*
Trial of the Seven Bishops *1688*	
William III and Mary II ascended the throne *1689*	
Battle of the Boyne *1690*	
Massacre of Glencoe *1692*	
Battle of La Hogue *1692*	
Bank of England established *1694*	
The *Triennial Act* was passed *1694*	
	Namur taken by William III *1695*
Peace of Ryswick *1697*	War ended by the *Peace of Ryswick* *1697*
	(Most of the conquests were restored to the original owners.)
The Darien Expeditions *1698-99*	

BRITISH HISTORY		EUROPEAN HISTORY
The *Grand Alliance* between England, Holland and Germany	*1701*	On the death of Charles II of Spain, the whole of his dominions was left to the grandson of Louis XIV; and England, the Empire, the United Provinces, Prussia and Savoy at once took up arms to prevent this, being afraid of the additional power such a succession would give to France. This struggle is thus known as the *War of the Spanish Succession* *1702*
Anne succeeded to the throne	*1702*	
War of the Spanish Succession began	*1702*	
Battle of Blenheim	*1704*	The war was marked chiefly by Marlborough's victories in the Netherlands and was brought to an end by the *Treaty of Utrecht* *1713*
The Act of Security passed	*1704*	
Capture of Gibraltar	*1704*	
Battle of Ramillies	*1706*	In this war *Frederick, the first King of Prussia*, took part, and his successor in 1713 received some additions to his territories by the Peace of Utrecht. This marked a distinct advance towards power on the part of Prussia.
Union of England and Scotland	*1707*	
Battle of Oudenarde	*1708*	
Battle of Malplaquet	*1709*	The Spanish Netherlands—more or less what is now Belgium—were transferred to *Austria* by the Peace of Utrecht. Austria also secured some of the Spanish possessions in Italy.
The Spectator (Weekly Essays)	*1711-12*	
Peace of Utrecht	*1713*	
George I succeeded to the throne	*1714*	*Sweden* about this time reached its greatest extent and power. In 1697 Charles XII fought successfully for a time against Denmark, Poland, and Russia, from all of which Sweden had wrested territory, but at *Pultowa* he suffered defeat, and at last met his death in Norway. Shortly afterwards nearly all the gains of the great Gustavus Adolphus were lost to Sweden, though she now extended to the south of the peninsula and had the western sea open to her. From this time she ceased to be one of the great Powers.
The Riot Act was passed	*1715*	
First Jacobite Rebellion	*1715*	
The Septennial Act	*1716*	
Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*	*1719*	

The *South Sea Bubble* burst — *1720*
Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* — *1726*
George II ascended the throne — *1727*

John Wesley and his friends began a religious revival — *1738*

War of the Austrian Succession began — *1740*

George II defeated the French at *Dettingen* — *1743*

The British defeated by the French at *Fontenoy* — *1745*

A *Second Jacobite Rebellion* under *Prince Charles Edward* — *1745*

Defeat of Jacobites at *Culloden* — *1746*

In *Poland* a King was elected at each vacancy, and on the death of *Augustus the Strong*, there were two rival claimants for the throne, and a war ensued known as the *War of the Polish Succession*. As a result of the struggle Austria lost some of her Italian dominions, and France became stronger by an indirect gain of *Lorraine*. (Alsace had been gradually taken over by France in the 17th century.) France later gained *Corsica*, which had formerly been under the government of Genoa — *1733*, *1766*, *1768*

The *War of the Austrian Succession* began — *1740*
It had been agreed that on the death of the Emperor Charles, he should be succeeded by his daughter *Maria-Theresa*. France, however, supported the claims of Charles of Bavaria, who was elected. The new Emperor died four years later, and Maria-Theresa's husband, Francis, was declared Emperor. As a result of the war *Prussia* gained *Silesia* — *1748*

BRITISH HISTORY		EUROPEAN HISTORY	
Gray's *Elegy*	*1751*		
Robert Clive seized Arcot from the French	*1751*		
Surajah Doulah's army routed at *Plassey* (This victory made us practically masters of Bengal.)	*1757*		
General Wolfe won a great victory on the *Heights of Abraham* (This victory led directly to the winning of Canada.)	*1759*		
George III succeeded his grandfather George II	*1760*		
The *Peace of Paris* brought to an end the war known as the *Seven Years' War* in which Britain and Prussia fought against France, Austria, and smaller states	*1763*		
Watt's steam engine patented	*1769*	Under *Frederick the Great* Prussia rose to be one of the great Powers and the chief German state. In 1772 he obtained part of Poland, sharing the spoils with Russia and Austria	*1772*
Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*	*1770*		
Warren Hastings became first *Governor-General of India*	*1773*		
American War of Independence	*1775-83*		
Fight at *Lexington*	*1775*		
General Howe forced to evacuate *Boston*	*1776*		
Declaration of Independence drawn up by Colonists	*1776*		
Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*	*1776*		
General Burgoyne surrendered at *Saratoga*	*1777*		
		France assisted the Americans against Britain	*1778*
		Spain joined the war against Britain	*1779*
		Holland at war with Britain	*1780*

Surrender of *Lord Cornwallis in Yorktown* 1781

By the *Treaty of Versailles*, the *independence of the United States* was acknowledged 1783

The French Revolution began 1789

Burke's *Reflections on French Revolution* 1790

Lord Howe defeated the French fleet off Ushant 1794

Sir John Jervis defeated Spanish fleet off Cape St Vincent 1797

With Peter the Great lay the honour of advancing *Russia* to a very great position, but his successors increased the power and extent of the country in various directions. In 1772 *Russia* took part in the partition of *Poland*. Her gains brought her right into the heart of Europe. The *Crimea* was annexed in 1783. 1772

From about this time Russia began to claim the right to meddle with Turkey in the interests of subject peoples of the Greek Christian Church. Her spiritual protectorship over them was recognised by a treaty in 1774.

The misgovernment of the French Kings for so many years gave rise to the *French Revolution* 1789

France became a Republic 1792

Further *partition* of *Poland* by which Russia and Prussia added to their territory 1793

King Louis of France beheaded 1793

(*Reign of Terror* began in France: later, government under the *Directory*; war declared against the Emperor, Prussia, and England.)

Final partition of *Poland* by which Russia, Prussia, and Austria absorbed the remainder of the Polish territory 1795

The French Republic carried on war in the *Austrian Netherlands*, *along the Rhine*, and in *Italy* 1793-97

BRITISH HISTORY		EUROPEAN HISTORY	
The Dutch fleet routed off Camperdown by Admiral Duncan	*1797*		
Nelson destroyed French fleet in *Aboukir Bay*	*1798*	*Napoleon Bonaparte* invaded Egypt	*1798*
		Bonaparte became *First Consul*	*1799*
		The Austrians crushed at *Marengo* by Bonaparte	*1800*
		Armed Neutrality of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia against Britain	*1800*
		(Nelson's victory at *Copenhagen* destroyed the power of the Danes and the death of the Czar, Paul I, put an end to the league against Britain.)	
Nelson's victory before *Copenhagen*	*1801*	By the Treaty of Lunéville (with Austria) the Rhine became the eastern frontier of France	*1801*
		(This had been the old Roman boundary between Gaul and independent Germany.)	
Union between Great Britain and Ireland	*1801*		
		Bonaparte became *Emperor of the French*	*1804*
		(Napoleon practically ruled over the greater part of Western Europe. His brothers or friends were made Kings of Spain, Naples, Holland, etc.; Germany was mastered, and Austria partly so; the Netherlands, United Provinces, and land extending to the Baltic were added to his empire.)	
Combined Navies of France and Spain destroyed by Nelson off *Cape Trafalgar—Death of Nelson*	*1805*		
Walter Scott's *Marmion*	*1808*		
The Peninsular Campaign	*1808-14*		
Sir John Moore's victory at Corunna	*1809*		
Wellington routed French at *Salamanca*	*1812*		
A final victory at *Toulouse*	*1814*		
		Napoleon led a disastrous expedition into *Russia*	*1812*
		The Germans, Austrians and Russians beat the French at *Leipzig*	*1813*
Scott's *Waverley*	*1814*		

Battle of Waterloo *1815*
" Massacre of Peterloo " *1819*
George IV succeeded on the death of his father, George III *1820*
Cato Street Conspiracy *1820*
Napoleon died at St Helena *1821*
War with the *Burmese* *1824-6*
Stockton-Darlington Railway opened *1825*
Britain assisted *Greece* in her struggle for independence. At *Navarino* British, French, and Russian fleets routed the Turks *1827*
Test and Corporation Acts were repealed *1828*
Liverpool-Manchester Railway opened *1829*
On the death of George IV, *William IV* succeeded *1830*
Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell *1831*
Reform Bill passed *1832*
Act for abolition of *slavery* throughout British Colonies *1833*
The *Poor Law amended* *1834*
Municipal Reform Act *1835*
Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* *1836*
Princess Victoria, daughter of the fourth son of George III, succeeded to the throne *1837*
The Anti-Corn Law League formed by Richard Cobden and John Bright *1838*
(This eventually led to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and introduced *Free Trade*.)

Wellington cleared the French out of *Spain* *1808-1814*
Napoleon abdicated and was sent to *Elba* *1814*
Napoleon returned, but his power was finally destroyed at *Waterloo* *1815*
(As a result of these wars the old " Holy Roman Empire " ceased to exist. The various German states (Bavaria, Würtemberg, etc.), banded themselves together into a loose kind of *Confederation*. The former Emperor, Francis, called himself Emperor of Austria. This was followed by a long struggle between *Austria* and *Prussia* for predominance. *Italy* still consisted of a number of small states.)

In *France* internal disquiet continued. After the troubled reigns of three Kings, Bonaparte's nephew, *Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*, was elected President, but after a short time he secured the title of Emperor of the French *1852*
In 1870 when a relation of the King of Prussia was proposed as King of Spain, *France declared War against Prussia*. This war was fostered also by Bismarck to further plans of his own
All Germany fought for Prussia against France, and the war resulted in France having to give back Alsace and part of Lorraine to Germany. *1870*
Louis Napoleon was deposed, and a *Republic* was set up.
Meantime great changes had taken place in Germany. With a view to closer union Prussia organised *a Customs' Union*, which most of the German states joined *1829-33*

BRITISH HISTORY

The *Chartists* drew up the "People's Charter," demanding serious political changes *1837*
London-Birmingham Railway opened *1838*
The *First Chinese War* began *1839*
(This war led to the gain of *Hong-Kong* and the right to trade with several coast towns of China.)
The *Penny Postage* adopted through the efforts of Rowland Hill *1840*
Punch founded *1841*
Scinde annexed by Britain *1843*
Disruption in the Church of Scotland *1843*
First War with the Sikhs began *1845*
Repeal of Corn Laws *1846*
J. S. Mill's *Political Economy* *1848*
Second War with the Sikhs (Annexation of *Punjab*) *1849*

Second War with the Burmese (Annexation of *Pegu*) *1852*
Crimean War *1854-56*
The Indian Mutiny *1857-8*
War with China *1856-60*
Darwin's *Origin of Species* *1859*
The *American Civil War* *1861-5*
(Distress among cotton workers in Lancashire.)
The British colonies (with the exception of Newfoundland) in North America united under the title of the *Dominion of Canada* *1867*
Sir Robert Napier invaded *Abyssinia* and released British prisoners *1868*

EUROPEAN HISTORY

Revolutionary risings took place in Prussia, Austria, and other German states *1848*
A war broke out between Prussia and Austria, and as a result Austria was shut out from Germany. Hanover and some other states were added to Prussia, and the *North German Confederation* was formed, under the presidency of *Prussia*. *1866*
The war with France in 1870-71 tended to bind the German states more closely together, and the southern states joined the Confederation. A little later *King William* of Prussia was declared *German Emperor*. *1870*
Meantime disturbances had arisen in various parts of disunited Italy, and several efforts were made to win freedom from Austria *1848*
Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, with the help of France made war against Austria. The great *Garibaldi* freed the two Sicilies, which were added to King Victor's kingdom. Most of the other Italian states joined also, and in 1861 Victor Emmanuel became *King of Italy* (except Venice and Rome). In the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria, Italy aided Prussia, and Austria was forced to give up Venetia. Lastly in 1870 the Italians took advantage of the Franco-German War to seize *Rome*, which had been held for the Pope by French troops. Italy thus became a consolidated nation, with Rome as its capital *1861* *1870*
Austria and *Hungary* became separate states under one sovereign *1867*

The Irish Church (Episcopal) disestablished *1869*

Irish Land Act passed granting favourable terms to the tenant *1870*

Elementary Education Act for England passed *1870*

Similar *Act for Scotland* *1872*

The *Ashanti War* *1874*

Transvaal annexed by Britain *1877*

War with *Afghanistan* *1878-80*

Zulus defeated at *Ulundi* *1879*

The *Boers of the Transvaal* rebelled and were granted modified self-government *1880-1*

A Second *Irish Land Act* established land courts *1881*

Arabi Pasha caused trouble in Egypt. Britain destroyed forts of *Alexandria* and routed Arabi at *Tel-el-Kebir* *1882*

General Gordon went out to the Sudan to negotiate with the *Mahdi*, but was shut up in *Khartum* *1884*

The *Netherlands* were unable to remain a united kingdom, as they differed both in religion and language. The southern (old Austrian) provinces revolted and established themselves as the *Kingdom of Belgium*. *1830*
The northern portion continued as the *Kingdom of Holland*. A new *Federal Constitution* secured a closer union among the various cantons of *Switzerland* *1848*
(This Constitution was revised again in 1874.)

In *Denmark* the Kings had been absolute monarchs until 1848 when Frederick VII granted a free Constitution to his people. Trouble arose between *1848*
Denmark and *Holstein*, which was wholly German, and *Sleswick* which was partly German. In the war of 1864 the two Duchies were given up to Prussia *1864*
and Austria. After the war of 1866 between these two Powers, they were retained by Prussia *1866*

Greece won her independence from Turkey by the aid of Britain, France, and Russia; and about the same time *Serbia*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia* were allowed to appoint Christian Governors. As a result of the Crimean war this measure of self-government was confirmed, and in 1861 Moldavia and Wallachia were united under the name of *Rumania* *1861*

Bosnia revolted against the tyranny of the Turks *1875*
Bulgarian atrocities by the Turks *1876*
Russia declared war on Turkey *1877*

BRITISH HISTORY		EUROPEAN HISTORY	
Relieving forces arrived too late; Gordon slain	*1885*	On the approach of Russian forces to Constantinople, the Turks agreed to the *Peace of San Stefano*, which practically dismembered the Turkish empire	*1878*
Burma annexed owing to the ill-treatment of British subjects	*1885*	*Britain* protested and the *Congress of Berlin* was held	*1878*
Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill for Ireland	*1886*	By this Congress :—	
		Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania were declared independent; *Bulgaria* was made a self-governing principality; *East Rumelia* was made partly independent; *Bosnia* and *Herzegovina* were placed under the administration of Austria; *Bessarabia* was added to Russia.	
Queen Victoria's Jubilee	*1887*		
Coercion Act passed to end disturbed state in Ireland	*1887*		
Local Government Act for England and Wales passed	*1888*		
Local Government Act for Scotland passed	*1889*		
Gordon's lieutenant, *Emin Pasha*, rescued from the Sudan by *H. M. Stanley*	*1889*		
Heligoland ceded to Germany by Britain	*1890*		
Death of C. S. Parnell	*1891*		
New Home Rule Bill introduced by Gladstone and rejected by the House of Lords	*1893*		
Parish Council Act	*1894*		
The "*Jameson Raid*" on the Transvaal	*1896*		
Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee	*1897*		
Sir Herbert Kitchener routed the Dervishes at the *Atbara*, and crushed them completely at *Omdurman*	*1898*		
The following year the *Khalifa* was finally defeated and slain.			
Boer War	*1899-1902*		
Queen Victoria died, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Albert Edward, who assumed the title of *Edward VII*	*1901*		
The Duke of York (later George V) made a tour of the Colonies	*1901*		
		Meantime in *Russia* internal changes had been going on. In 1858 and 1861 serfs to the number of 40 millions had been granted freedom	*1858* *1861*
		The high hopes engendered by this step and the ensuing disappointment gave rise to *Nihilism*. The Czar was assassinated	*1881*
		Germany made a Dual Alliance with *Austria*	*1879*
		This Dual Alliance was converted into a *Triple Alliance* by the addition of *Italy*	*1882*
		William II came to the German throne	*1888*
		Count Bismarck dismissed from office	*1890*
		France and *Russia* formed a Dual Alliance	*1894*
		Armenian massacres	*1894-96*
		Madagascar annexed by France	*1896*
		Germany leased *Kiao-chau* from China	*1897*
		War between *Greece* and *Turkey*	*1897*
		Russia occupied *Port Arthur* (China)	*1898*

The Duke opened the first *Parliament* of the Commonwealth *of Australia*	*1901*
Marconi's Wireless Telegraphy established between Britain and Canada	*1902*
Entente between Britain and France	*1904*
Self-government for Transvaal and Orange Free State	*1906*
Imperial Conference of Colonial Premiers and Representatives opened at London	*1907*
Mr Haldane's *Territorial Army Scheme*	*1907*
Old Age Pensions Act passed	*1908*
King Edward died and was succeeded by only surviving son, who ascended the throne as *George V*	*1910*
Union of South Africa	*1910*
National Insurance Act	*1911*
Home Rule Bills passed	*1912-14*
War between *Spain* and *U.S.A.*	*1898*
Peace Conference at the Hague	*1899*
French treaty with Morocco	*1901*
War between Russia and Japan	*1904-5*
Morocco crisis (Germany *v.* France)	*1905*
Norway separated from *Sweden*	*1905*
Second Peace Conference at the Hague	*1907*
Revolution in Turkey	*1908-9*
Bosnia and Herzegovina annexed by Austria	*1909*
Agadir crisis (Germany *v.* France)	*1911*
Tripoli annexed by Italy	*1911*
War between *Turkey* and *Balkan States*	*1913*

The Great War, 1914-19

Victory of the Marne	*1914*
Defence of Ypres	*1914-15*
German South-West Africa occupied	*1915*
Dardanelles Expedition	*1915*
Poland and Serbia overrun	*1915*
Naval Battle of Jutland Bank	*1916*
Battle of the Somme	*1916*
Surrender of Kut-el-Amara	*1916*
Rumania overrun	*1916*
Passchendaele and Cambrai	*1917*
Bagdad and Jerusalem taken	*1917*
Great Italian retreat	*1917*
Three German attacks repulsed	*1918*
Four months of victories	*1918*
Armistice (11th November)	*1918*
Adavnce towards Mosul and Aleppo	*1918*
Bulgarians defeated	*1918*
Austrian retreat from the Piave	*1918*
Peace signed (28th June)	*1919*

A SHORT LIST OF HISTORICAL NOVELS AND TALES

Ben Hur, by Lew Wallace. (Rome in the time of Christ.)
Quo Vadis ? by H. Sienkiewics. (Rome in the time of Nero.)
Last Days of Pompeii, by Lord Lytton. (Time of Vespasian—1st Century.)
Gladiators, by G. J. Whyte Melville. (Fall of Jerusalem—1st Century.)
Antinous, by George Taylor (trans.). (Time of Hadrian.)
Marius the Epicurean, by W. Pater. (Time of Marcus Aurelius—2nd Century.)
The Villa of Claudius, by E. L. Cutts. (Romans in Britain.)
Aurelian, by W. Ware. (Rome—late 3rd Century.)
A Duke of Britain, by Sir H. Maxwell. (Picts and Romans.)
Hypatia, by Charles Kingsley. (Alexandria—early 5th Century.)
Attila, by G. P. R. James. (Decline of Roman Empire.)
Havelok the Dane, by C. W. Whistler. (Denmark and England —6th Century.)
Scholar of Lindisfarne, by G. Hollis. (Time of St Aidan—7th Century.)
The King's Sons, by G. Manville Fenn. (Alfred and his times.)
King Alfred's Viking, by C. W. Whistler. (Alfred and the first English Fleet.)
Erling the Bold, by R. M. Ballantyne. (Norway and the Vikings —early 10th Century.)
The Little Duke, by C. M. Yonge. (Normandy—10th Century.)
Vikings of the Baltic, by G. W. Dasent. (Later 10th Century.)
Harold, by Lord Lytton. (The Norman Conquest.)
Hereward the Wake, by Charles Kingsley. (The Norman Conquest.)
Rufus, or the Red King, by J. Gregor Grant. (William II.)
Maid Marian, by T. L. Peacock. (Robin Hood.)
Life and Death of Richard Yea-and-Nay, by Maurice Hewlett. (Richard I.)
The Talisman, by Sir W. Scott. (The Third Crusade.)
Ivanhoe, by Sir W. Scott. (England at the end of 12th Century.)
How I Won my Spurs, by J. G. Edgar. (A tale of the Barons Wars in the 13th Century.)

The Days of Bruce, by Grace Aguilar. (Scotland—early 14th Century.)

Rienzi, by Lord Lytton. (Rome under the Great Tribune—14th Century.)

The Gathering of Brother Hilarius, by Michael Fairless. (Great Pestilence in Edward III's time.)

The White Company, by Sir Conan Doyle. (England and France —14th Century.)

Long Will, by Florence Converse. (Chaucer, Wat Tyler, and Peasant Revolt.)

The Lion of St Mark, by G. A. Henty. (Venice in the 14th Century.)

The Fair Maid of Perth, by Sir W. Scott. (Perthshire, 1402.)

Every Inch a King, by Josephine C. Sawyer. (Henry IV, Henry V.)

The Caged Lion, by C. M. Yonge. (James I of Scotland.)

A Monk of Fife, by Andrew Lang. (Joan of Arc.)

The Captain of the Guard, by James Grant. (The Douglases, 1440-50.)

Theodora Phranza, by J. M. Neale. (Fall of Constantinople, 1453.)

The Black Arrow, by R. L. Stevenson. (Wars of the Roses.)

The Last of the Barons, by Lord Lytton. (Warwick the King-Maker.)

Quentin Durward, by Sir W. Scott. (France and Flanders, 1468—Louis XI.)

Anne of Geierstein, by Sir W. Scott. (Switzerland, Germany, France, *c.* 1474—Charles the Bold, Margaret of Anjou.)

Notre Dame, by Victor Hugo (trans.). (Paris—late 15th Century.)

Vale of Cedars, by Grace Aguilar. (Jewish Persecution in Spain.)

Chronicles of the Schönberg Gotta Family, by Mrs Charles. (Luther and his Family.)

The Yellow Frigate, by James Grant. (Scotland, about 1488.)

Darnley, by G. P. R. James. (Time of Wolsey.)

The Cloister and the Hearth, by Charles Reade. (Europe, just before the Reformation.)

Windsor Castle, by Harrison Ainsworth. (Henry VIII.)

A Prince of Good Fellows, by Robert Barr. (James V of Scotland.)

The Tower of London, by Harrison Ainsworth. (Edward VI and Lady Jane Grey.)

The Story of Francis Cludde, by Stanley Weyman. (Time of Mary Tudor.)

The Monastery and *The Abbot*, by Sir W. Scott. (Southern Scotland, *c.* 1550-67.)

Crichton, by Harrison Ainsworth. (1560-85.)

The Queen's Quair, by Maurice Hewlitt. (Mary Queen of Scots, 1561-7.)

Kenilworth, by Sir W. Scott. (Elizabeth, *c.* 1575.)
Westward Ho! by C. Kingsley. (Armada, etc.)
Sir Ludar, by T. B. Reed. (Armada, etc.)
Sir Mortimer, by Mary Johnston. (Elizabeth—naval supremacy.)
By Stroke of Sword, by A. Balfour. (Drake.)
Maelcho and *With Essex in Ireland*, by Emily Lawless. (Ireland, 1579 and 1599.)
By Pike and Dyke and *By England's Aid*, by G. A. Henty. (Dutch rising against Spain.)
In the Palace of the King, by F. Marion Crawford. (Spain under Philip II.)
Marguerite de Valois, by A. Dumas. (France—massacre of St Bartholomew.)
Count Hannibal and *The House of the Wolf*, by S. Weyman. (France —massacre of St Bartholomew.)
A Gentleman of France, by S. Weyman. (The Catholic League against Henry of Navarre.)
The Fortunes of Nigel, by Sir W. Scott. (James I, *c.* 1604.)
Guy Fawkes, *The Lancashire Witches*, and *The Star Chamber*, by H. Ainsworth. (James I.)
By Order of the Company, by Mary Johnston. (Virginia, 1622.)
The MS. in a Red Box, by Rev. J. A. Hamilton. (Draining of the Fens, 1627.)
The Splendid Spur, by Sir A. T. Quiller Couch. (West of England, 1642-3.)
Captain Fortune, by H. B. Marriott Watson. (Cornwall, 1643.)
To Right the Wrong and *In Spite of All*, by Edna Lyall. (Hampden, Falkland, Laud, etc.)
When Charles I was King, by J. S. Fletcher. (Marston Moor, etc.)
John Inglesant, by J. H. Shorthouse. (England and Italy, time of Charles I.)
The Three Musketeers and *Twenty Years After*, by A. Dumas. (1629 and 1649.)
The Lion of the North, by G. A. Henty. (Scots serving under Gustavus Adolphus.)
The Legend of Montrose, by Sir W. Scott. (Scotland, *c.* 1645.)
John Splendid, by Neil Munro. (Scotland, *c.* 1645.)
The Angel of the Covenant, by J. M. Cobban. (Scotland, *c.* 1645.)
Holmby House, by G. J. Whyte Melville. (About 1645-9.)
Ovingdean Grange, by H. Ainsworth. (Escape of Charles II after Worcester.)
Under the Red Robe and *The Man in Black*, by S. Weyman. (Time of Richelieu.)

Cing Mars, by A. de Vigny. (Time of Richelieu.)
Castle Omeragh, by F. Frankfort Moore. (Cromwell in Ireland.)
Woodstock, by Sir W. Scott. (Oxfordshire, 1652.)
Friend Olivia, by Amelia Barr. (G. Fox, the Quaker.)
Tara, by Meadows Taylor. (India in 1657.)
Journal of the Plague, by D. Defoe. (London, 1665.)
Old St Paul's, by H. Ainsworth. (London, 1665-6.)
Simon Dale, by Anthony Hope. (Court of Charles II.)
Peveril of the Peak, by Sir W. Scott. (*c.* 1678.)
The Vicomte de Bragelonne, by A. Dumas. (France, 1660-72.)
The Black Tulip, by A. Dumas. (Holland, 1672.)
The Refugees, by Sir A. Conan Doyle. (Louis XIV.)
The Old Dominion, by Mary Johnston. (Virginia.)
Lorna Doone, by R. D. Blackmore. (Monmouth's rising.)
Micah Clarke, by Sir A. Conan Doyle. (Monmouth's rising.)
The Courtship of Maurice Buckler, by A. E. W. Mason. (Time of James II.)
The Standard Bearer and *Lochinvar*, by S. R. Crockett. (The Covenanters: Killiecrankie.)
Blue Pavilions, by Sir A. T. Quiller Couch. (William of Orange.)
The Crimson Sign, by S. R. Keightley. (Siege of Derry, 1689.)
The Lion Cub and *Mazeppa*, by F. Whishaw. (Russia: Peter the Great.)
The Trail of the Sword, by Gilbert Parker. (French in Canada.)
In Furthest Ind, by Sydney C. Grier. (East India Company 1697.)
Shrewsbury, by S. Weyman. (Jacobite intrigues.)
Esmond, by W. M. Thackeray. (William III and Queen Anne.)
St James's, by H. Ainsworth. (Anne.)
Across the Salt Seas, by J. B. Burton. (Blenheim.)
Devereux, by Lord Lytton. (Bolingbroke.)
Dorothy Forster, by Sir W. Besant. (The '15.)
Rob Roy, by Sir W. Scott. (Jacobites.)
Parson Kelly, by A. E. W. Mason and Andrew Lang. (Jacobites—1719.)
Clementina, by A. E. W. Mason. (The Old Pretender and Princess Clementina Sobieski.)
The World Went Very Well Then, by Sir Walter Besant. (Time of George II.)
Heart of Midlothian, by Sir Walter Scott. (George II—Porteous Riots.)
Treasure Trove, by Samuel Lover. (George II—Fontenoy.)
Hetty Wesley, by Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch. (Home life of the Wesleys.)

Waverley, by Sir Walter Scott. (The Jacobites.)
A Lost Lady of Old Years, by John Buchan. (The Jacobites.)
Ricroft of Withens, by Halliwell Sutcliffe. (Jacobites—Yorkshire Moors.)
The Master of Ballantrae, by R. L. Stevenson. (After the '45.)
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